



LIFE OF JOHN HOWARD.

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LONDON: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

By the same Author.

Published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

FRIENDLY ADVICE TO A PRISONER. — No. 686.

A CHAPLAIN'S WORD AT PARTING WITH ONE WHO HAS BEEN UNDER HIS CARE. — No. 640.





John Howard Esq.

THE
LIFE OF JOHN HOWARD;

WITH
COMMENTS ON HIS CHARACTER
AND
PHILANTHROPIC LABOURS.

BY
THE REV. J. FIELD, M.A.

“Nihil est tam regium, tam liberale, tamque munificum, quam opem ferre supplicibus, excitare afflictos, dare salutem, liberare periculis homines.”—CICERO.

“Health, time, powers of mind, worldly possessions, are from God.—Do I consecrate them all to Him?—So help me, O my God!”—HOWARD.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1850.

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,
New-street-Square.

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8978
H3 F452

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE ALBERT,

&c. &c. &c.

WHOSE PATRONAGE AND SUPPORT OF MANY CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

WHICH ADORN THE COUNTRY HE HAS ADOPTED,

AND WHOSE CONSTANT DESIRE AND SUCCESSFUL ENDEAVOURS TO PROMOTE VARIOUS

PLANS CALCULATED TO MITIGATE THE SUFFERINGS,

TO IMPROVE THE MORALS, AND TO AUGMENT THE HAPPINESS OF

THOSE IN A LOWER STATION,

HAVE ENDEARED HIS NAME TO ALL CLASSES, WHILST THEY HAVE ENHANCED

THE DIGNITY OF HIS OWN EXALTED RANK;

THIS UNWORTHY EFFORT, IN FURTHERANCE OF SUCH OBJECTS,

BY AN ATTEMPT TO DESCRIBE THE CHARACTER AND RECOMMEND THE EXAMPLE

OF OUR GREAT CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPIST,

IS, BY MOST KIND PERMISSION, VERY HUMBLY DEDICATED,

BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S OBEDIENT

AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

IN his schoolboy days the writer purchased Howard's "First Book on Prisons." Attracted at first by its curious pictures, he soon became interested in the explanations. For a time the book was read as entertaining. It afforded all the excitement of a novel or a tragedy. It was a favourite volume; and, ere long, a feeling of admiration towards its author was enkindled.

Fourteen years ago the writer was called to officiate occasionally in a County Gaol, and during the last ten years it has been his constant duty. Throughout this time his early purchase has been better appreciated. He has become personally acquainted with much that is described, and experience has taught him the truth and wisdom of Howard's words. It became a book for the study. He discovered that another volume had issued from the same pen,—he searched diligently for that also, and commissioned booksellers, if possible, to procure it. But for years his efforts were vain; at length, to his astonishment and delight, he found it. He had bought it as another book,—for it had been bound up in covers bearing a different title.*

The writer learned that two biographers had written *Memoirs of Howard*, and he felt equally anxious to obtain a copy of each—one, by Dr. Aikin, which is a mere *Essay*, as its title indicates: "*A View of Howard's Character and Public Services:*" the other, by Brown, published as a quarto volume of seven hundred pages, and written in a style which has been complained of; but he

* A striking proof of the scarcity of these volumes was afforded at a recent discussion on Prison Discipline in London, when a gentleman, who is known to have given attention, for more than twenty years, to that question, produced a copy of Howard's "*State of Prisons,*" as a book of inestimable value, which he had *never seen or heard of until a few days before.*

is himself too much indebted to that biographer for many of the facts he has described, willingly to find fault.

The scarcity of Howard's Works and Memoirs was a strong inducement for him to undertake the present labour; but a still more powerful motive has arisen on the perusal of a recent publication, professedly setting forth the opinions of that Philanthropist. Of the style and tendency of that work the Author feels at some loss to express his indignation in terms sufficiently forcible. The writer of it has betrayed a want of sympathy with the subject of his Memoir. That any record of one, so noble-minded and so holy, should be made an occasion for the advocacy of democratic principles, and for the aspersion of a godly prince, is a violation of biographical license too monstrous to be tolerated in the land honoured by Howard's birth—though too ignorant of his excellence!

In the following pages it will be a painful duty to refer more than once to this volume. It shall be with as much forbearance as may be consistent with truth. To vindicate Howard is a distinguished honour, of which the biographer must confess himself unworthy, and a task to which he would feel incompetent if the exalted character of the man did not render it comparatively easy. His name is, in every civilised country, "familiar in men's mouths as a household word," yet few are acquainted with his merits, and by many his real character is grievously misrepresented. All speak of his benevolence; but his prudence and sound judgment are seldom heard of. Hence, for many a well-meant but impracticable scheme is Howard's sanction sought, and his supposed authority confidently cited. Even the deluded or selfish demagogue, because our philanthropist was the advocate of liberty, represents him as licentious, and thus further desecrates that venerable name.

And, again, the excellency of Howard's character is very partially discerned by those who see in him only the moralist, or the man self-dedicated to the mitigation or removal of human woes, without observing the source whence such philanthropy had its origin. Howard was a Christian. God called him to his work, and qualified him for it. All his efforts were the fruits of "faith

working by love." There was more than *humanity* in his conduct. *Charity* better describes it. It was the energy of holiness, actuated by love. He went about doing good, because he had practically learned the precept "That he who loveth God love his brother also."

Yet, though a Christian, and walking so worthily of that holy name as far to surpass his fellow-men, he shared their frailty. Howard was imperfect, and faithfulness dares not conceal defects. Nor will his life be less instructive, or less profitable, to themselves and society, if men, who emulate his virtues, shall learn to avoid his mistakes.

The Author's early and continued study of Howard's works enabled him to make frequent reference to them in his publications on "Prison Discipline." Many of his opinions he had imbibed from that Philanthropist, who, whilst the unflinching advocate of *just punishment*, was emphatically the prisoner's friend.

This biography may therefore be considered in some measure as supplemental to those volumes, since longer experience gives the power of additional illustration, and of adducing further proofs of the wisdom and policy of many of Howard's plans. At the same time, this Memoir will be a complete work in itself, imparting what desirable information has been preserved of his private life, and describing his official and more voluntary labours of philanthropy in the several characters he sustained,—as a landlord, a magistrate, and the visitor of hospitals and prisons throughout the greater part of the civilised world.

In many respects Howard was in advance of his age. Some of his proposals have been since adopted ; others might be, with much advantage. In tracing his life, we receive lessons and illustrations upon all the social questions which engage the attention of the legislator, of the administrator of the law, or of the benevolent Christian in private life at the present time. A conviction of the great value of such instruction chiefly induced the Author to enter upon this work. He has not the time, the talent, nor the inclination to write a volume of mere amusement, but he has indulged a hope that he might be enabled to offer some remarks suggested by

the observations, and founded upon the experience, of the subject of his Memoir, which might not prove altogether worthless. In describing, therefore, the character of Howard, he has not so much sought to entertain the reader with the history of his life, as to enforce the sentiments for which he was distinguished. The Title-page was intended to prepare for this, and must be the apology if the narrative be sometimes interrupted.

In these pages our great Philanthropist must be, although not entirely, yet to a great extent, his own biographer. His character will be portrayed with most truth if we trace his course as described by himself, recording the avowed or apparent motives for his conduct, — offering occasionally a faithful comment and application, and transcribing many of the humane and pious reflections which abound throughout his works.

ERRATA.

Page 30. for "hot-house" read "root-house,"

116. for "prisons" read "prisoners,"

320. for "D. C. L." read "LL. D."

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LIFE

OF

JOHN HOWARD.

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY AND BIRTH OF HOWARD.—RANK AND CHARACTER OF HIS PARENTS.—DEATH OF HIS MOTHER.—SENT TO CARDINGTON.—PROVIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENTS.—EDUCATION.—MR. EAMES.—APPRENTICESHIP.—HIS FATHER'S DEATH.—ANEC-
DOTE OF THE GARDENER.—TOUR IN FRANCE AND ITALY.—HIS RETURN TO STOKE NEWINGTON.—OCCUPATIONS AND STUDIES.—RELIGIOUS CREED AND CHARACTER.—SICKNESS.—MARRIAGE.—MRS. HOWARD'S CHARACTER.—HER DEATH.

THE reputation of John Howard was so entirely derived from his own actions and character, that we need not much regret the absence of genealogical records, or occupy our pages with long statements concerning ancestry, which have little foundation in ascertained facts. Whether the Philanthropist was connected with the illustrious families of the same name, whose achievements are so conspicuous in the annals of our country, is a question upon which others have disputed, but his most intimate friends have told us is more than doubtful. It may be enough to say that the only claim to this dis-

tion which has been preferred on his behalf has been founded on a circumstance mentioned in a short Memoir of Howard, published in a volume of the *Universal Magazine**, in which the writer says of his father, that —

“ He was descended from a branch of the noble family of that name, which makes such a distinguished figure in the British peerage. The family arms of the Duke of Norfolk, and of the Earls of Effingham, Suffolk, and Carlisle, are placed at the head of the tombstone which Mr. Howard erected to his first wife, on the south side of Whitechapel churchyard.”

As to the credibility of this anonymous witness the reader must determine for himself; but if the evidence be received, the character of Howard's father was such as to forbid the supposition that he was vain enough to assume the arms of those noble families, without some solid support for his pretensions.

Dr. Aikin, whose description has been adopted by other biographers, informs us that “ Howard's father was an upholsterer and carpet warehouseman, in Long Lane, Smithfield.” We have few particulars concerning him. He appears to have had a small patrimony at the village of Cardington, near Bedford, and to have purchased a residence and some land at Enfield, with money acquired in trade. Respecting this and one or two other circumstances I extract the following communication from an antiquarian, residing in the same village, to the Editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*.” †

* Vol. lxxxvi. p. 170.

† August, 1790.

In the Court Rolls of the King's manor of Enfield, is the following entry of admission of Mr. Howard's father to his property there, which will at least decide the controversy about his profession: — "John Haward, alias Howard, civis et tapetiar de London, admitted to six acres in Carten-hatch Leas, Le Pottash House, and an acre turned into an orchard before 1704. John Howard, Esq., formerly an upholsterer, who, three years before, fined for sheriff, died Sept. 9. 1742. To the property above-mentioned his son was admitted in 1754 by the name of John Howard."

Howard the elder was a strict Dissenter, an Independent, which accounts for the fine above referred to: a fact to which we shall have occasion to recur in the following pages.

About the birthtime of the subject of these memoirs, other property was bought at Clapton, in the parish of Hackney, whither the Howard family then removed. To this circumstance chiefly must be ascribed those discrepancies as to the place of Howard's nativity which we observe in his biographies. To Cardington, Smithfield, Hackney, and Enfield, the honour has been assigned. The monument erected to his memory in St. Paul's Cathedral tells us that he was born at Hackney; but other testimony is almost decisive in favour of Enfield.

And as Howard's birthplace is doubtful, so the date of the event is uncertain. No register decides the day or year, and conjectures have increased the obscurity. By comparing various circumstances of his life we may, however, assert

that Howard must have been born between the commencement of 1725 and the close of 1727.

Howard's mother, of whom I find nothing said but that her maiden name was Cholmley, died during his early infancy. We learn, then, that he being of a weak constitution, and becoming sickly, was sent to a cottager residing on his father's estate at Cardington, where he spent some of his earliest years. Here he was nursed with care and kindness, and was invigorated in his country home. He became so attached to the scenes of his boyhood, and to the inhabitants of this village, that he afterwards chose Cardington as his abode, and the friends of his infancy found in their old age a grateful patron.

Without anticipating his narrative, or detaining the reader who wishes to become acquainted with Howard rather than with the writer's reflections, he cannot forbear expressing admiration at the wisdom of Divine Providence evinced in the very dawn of Howard's days. For those chosen of God for special services a suitable preparation is required. Circumstances over which they can have no control must be adapted to their coming necessities. This provision was made through the prescience of the Almighty in the instance before us. Had the parents of Howard been poor, what an obstacle had been presented to God's purposes of compassion which were to be accomplished by his means! A competency was therefore granted. Had their station in life been such as to have as-

sociated them with the nobles whose name they shared, how much might the son's companionship from the cradle have rendered him averse from intercourse needful to his mission! This was prevented. Had the mother's life been prolonged to foster this infant in the bosom of maternal tenderness, her love concentrated in this only son, and shown in that excessive indulgence by which such fondness is commonly declared, what an enervating effect and consequent unfitness for future hardships might have been induced! God in wisdom takes that parent to Himself. And then lest the affection of the bereaved father should be too much lavished on the surviving child, sickness is sent upon him and a separation is effected! Moreover, the rough fare of the humble cottage would be a better preparation for future endurance than the comforts of the father's home; and therefore if that parent chooses to reside amidst the refinements which surround the city, he is directed to prefer for his son the rustic simplicity of the labourer's cot. From all these dispensations, painful as some were, and adverse as some might seem, there was an overruling Providence and power educing good. All tended to the accomplishment of His merciful purposes; whilst to the chosen agent they were great and lasting blessings. These provisions, as a preparation in the case of Howard, remind us of Abraham's call, and, in a limited sense, the promises then given to the Patriarch we see to have been

alike applicable :—“ I will bless thee, and make thy name great ; and thou shalt be a blessing.”

Young Howard in due time became old and robust enough for school.

“ As Mr. Howard’s father,” writes Dr. Aikin, “ was a strict Protestant Dissenter, it was natural for him to educate his son under a preceptor of the same principles. But his choice for the purpose was the source of a lasting misfortune, which, as it has been too frequent an occurrence, deserves particular notice. There was at that time a schoolmaster at some distance from London, who in consequence of his moral and religious character had been entrusted with the education of the children of most of the opulent Dissenters in the Metropolis, though extremely deficient in the qualifications requisite for such an office. That persons whose own education and habits of life have rendered them very inadequate judges of the talents necessary for an instructor of youth, should easily fall into this error, is not to be wondered at ; but the evil is a real one, though its cause be excusable. The event with respect to Mr. Howard was, as he has assured me with greater indignation than I have heard him express upon many subjects, that after a continuance of seven years at this school, he left it not fully taught any one thing. The loss of this period was irreparable : he felt it all his life after ; it was but too obvious to those who conversed with him. From this school he was removed to Mr. Eames’ Academy ; but his continuance there must, I conceive, have been of short duration ; and, whatever might be his acquisitions in that place, he certainly did not supply the deficiencies of his earlier education. As some of the accounts published concerning him might inculcate the idea that he had attained considerable proficiency in letters, I feel myself obliged, from my own knowledge, to assert, that he was never able to speak or write his native lan-

guage with grammatical correctness, and that his acquaintance with other languages, the French perhaps excepted, was slight and superficial. In estimating the powers of his mind, it rather adds to the account that he had this additional difficulty to combat in his pursuit of the great objects of his later years.”*

Somewhat severe strictures have been made upon the parent's conduct in this choice of a tutor. I do not transcribe any, because, as Dr. Aikin allows, he being a Dissenter, sincere, however mistaken, it was not unreasonable that he should select for his son's instructor a person of corresponding opinions: and since, as we shall see, that parent never contemplated the elevation of his son to the rank he attained, but supposed he would pursue a like trade, and occupy a like station to himself, he might well deem the education given quite sufficient. Or it is not improbable that being dissatisfied with the tuition of the former master, it was exchanged for the instruction of a man certainly qualified by his talents and learning, although even under his instruction, Howard's sickness in childhood, the loose training of the cottage life, and the lack of discipline in the former school, might to a great extent frustrate his exertions, and prevent the rapid progress of the pupil.

But as to Howard's literary defects there is surely reason to suppose the foregoing statement is somewhat exaggerated. His writings neither betray an inferior capacity, nor fully prove the

* See Appendix A.

ignorance imputed. Evidence indeed we have that talent is not essential to philanthropy, and that the heart may be enlarged, though the intellect never be developed; but of this truth we must not cite Howard as an instance. We are not informed as to the exact period when the subject of our memoirs left school. It was probably at the age of fifteen or sixteen years: and for a short time it is likely he sojourned under the paternal roof. There was very much to admire in the father's conduct: imperfections are discernible, but he was evidently prudent, affectionate, and pious. "He maintained," we are told, "great order and regularity in his house; and to his constant observation of the Sabbath, and of the duty of Family Prayer, his son was perhaps indebted for that piety, which, ever after, formed a distinguishing feature in his character."

Having been himself prosperous in business, knowing the value of an occupation, and the uncertain tenure of all he could bequeath, Mr. Howard bound his son apprentice to a wholesale grocer, in Watling Street, London. At the same time this act of worldly prudence was accompanied with a proof of his affection. His son's health must not suffer from close confinement to the warehouse, and therefore 700*l.* is the premium paid; by which liberal sum separate apartments are obtained for him, and permission to keep a servant and two saddle-horses is purchased. Of his character as an apprentice we have no account; it was unex-

ceptionable without doubt. But commercial pursuits were neither the choice nor the proper employment for Howard: it was his father's appointment, and he submitted; and a blessing resulted from that obedience. He learned the customs of the world, and was preserved from its corruptions.

"Mr. Howard," writes Dr. Aikin, "was probably indebted to this part of his education for some of that spirit of order, and knowledge of common affairs, which he possessed; but he did not in that situation contract any of that love of aggrandisement which is the basis of all commercial exertions; and so irksome was the employment to him, that, on coming of age, he bought out the remainder of his time."*

Just when Howard had derived from his father's precepts and example all that was of real advantage to the formation of his character, and the judicious government of his affairs, and that parent's duty was so far done, he died. Of the property he had acquired, 8000*l.*, with jewels and some other valuables, were assigned to his daughter as her portion of his estate, and to his son an ample fortune was bequeathed, the interest of which he was to receive at once, but, with a characteristic prudence, the entire control of the property was not permitted until his twenty-fourth year had been attained. So remarkable, however, was the discretion of young Howard that the three executors at once intrusted to him the management of his estate to a very considerable extent.

* Aikin's View, p. 15.

Filial affection endeared the late residence of his father at Clapton. It was dilapidated, and Howard felt a melancholy pleasure in his first duty of superintending its repairs. For this purpose he visited it every other day; and connected with one of these visits a simple anecdote is recorded, deeply interesting as showing the first-fruits of philanthropy, and in its circumstances giving much promise of the constancy of that benevolence which was now increasing, and from which the world was ere long to reap such an abundant blessing. — “A venerable old man who had been gardener to Mr. Howard the father, for many years, and who continued in that situation until the son let the house, would, in the year 1790, when he had attained the age of ninety years, take great pleasure in relating, as an instance of his young master’s punctuality and goodness of disposition, that he never failed to be at the long buttressed wall, which separated the garden from the road, just as the baker’s cart was going past, when he would purchase a loaf, throw it over the wall, and on entering the garden, good-humouredly say, ‘Harry, look among the cabbages, you will find something for your family.’” *

The appointed term of apprenticeship was not yet completed, but, as we have read, Howard on coming of age purchased the remainder of his time, and with the natural wish of a young man to see something more of the world, he set out upon a tour through France and Italy. Of his travels at

* Brown’s Life, p. 12.

this time no record has been preserved : some memorials indeed were traceable in after years, in those pictures and other works of art which then adorned his seat at Cardington. These sufficiently proved Howard to have been by no means deficient in taste, although in his subsequent travels higher objects engaged his time. His attention was then so devoted to philanthropic efforts that neither the pursuits of science were allowed to distract it, nor the most perfect specimens of art to divert him from his charitable course. No man could better appreciate the sublime and beautiful in Nature's scenes, yet even these could not attract him, nor stay the active energy of that benevolence which forbade interruption whilst a single sufferer sought relief.

Howard's continental tour did not occupy longer than one or two years. On his return the delicate state of his health induced him to take lodgings at Stoke Newington, where he passed his days in agreeable and useful reading and in that sober relaxation by which his strength might be restored.* The subjects of his study were the less abstruse branches of Natural Philosophy, and the theory of Medicine. From the latter especially, he derived great and permanent advantage. It enabled him in

* I have before me No. 60. of the Gentleman's Magazine, in which it is stated of Howard that "he used at this time to ride out of a morning with a book in his pocket, dismount, turn his horse to graze, and spend several hours in reading." This may be true, but I observe so many inaccuracies in this piece of biography, that I am unwilling to insert any portion of it in the text of this work.

after years to apply means both for the prevention and cure of diseases in himself when visiting the numerous prisons and hospitals in which they so terribly prevailed, and, as we shall observe, qualified him to prescribe for, and to be of essential service to many sufferers. At this time also "he was put upon a rigorous regimen of diet, which laid the foundation of that extraordinary abstemiousness and indifference to the gratifications of the palate which ever after so much distinguished him."*

Now too the Christian piety of Howard became more decided and practical. Educated as a Non-conformist, and continually associated with Dissenters, it might reasonably be expected that, without sectarian feelings, he should attach himself to some portion of that body. Upon this subject I transcribe the statement of his biographer:—

"His attachment to religion," writes Dr. Aikin, "was a principle imbibed from his earliest years, which continued steady and uniform through life. The body of Christians to whom he particularly united himself were the Independents, and his system of belief was that of the moderate Calvinists. But though he seems early to have made up his mind as to the doctrines he thought best founded, and the mode of worship he most approved, yet religion abstractedly considered as the relation between man and his Maker, and the grand support of morality, appears to have been the principal object of his regard. He was less solicitous about modes and opinions than the internal spirit of piety and devotion; and in his estimate of different religious societies, the circumstances to which he principally attended were their zeal and sincerity. . .

* Aikin, p. 16.

In London he seems chiefly to have joined the Baptist congregation in Wild Street, long under the ministry of the much respected Dr. Stennett. His connections were, I believe, least with that class called Rational Dissenters; yet he probably had not a more intimate friend in the world than Dr. Price, who always ranked among them. It was his constant practice to join in the service of the Establishment when he had not the opportunity of attending a place of dissenting worship; and though he was warmly attached to the interests of the party he espoused, yet he had that true spirit of catholicism, which led him to honour virtue and religion, wherever he found them, and to regard the *means* only as they were subservient to the *end*.*

Thus we observe that Howard's creed, so far as it might differ from that of other Christians, was not the result of controversy or even of inquiry. He had received it in childhood, and it had been confirmed by circumstances. But his religion, that inward heartfelt influence which creates and constitutes holiness, had been derived from another source. Howard was, as respects this, taught of God, and he lived under the preventing grace of His Spirit. Hence he was not only preserved from youthful dissipation, but enabled to prove the efficacy of the principles he avowed. He suffered with patience; and during his affliction, selfishness was not only subdued, but well-nigh expelled. He learned to sympathise by what he suffered, and thenceforth he laboured to relieve. We are told "he became not only charitable to those who appealed to his benevolence, but that he sought out

* Aikin, pp. 18-20.

fit objects for his bounty ; remembering, in the distribution of all his alms, the words of the Lord Jesus, how that He said ‘ It is more blessed to give than to receive.’ ” *

It was a misfortune to the invalid, whose weakness rendered careful and constant attention needful, that he selected for his hostess and nurse one who proved unworthy ; but after patient endurance for a time he changed his lodgings. “ He removed to the house of Mrs. Lardeau (or Loidoire), a widow lady of small independent property residing in Church Street, Newington. †

Here he was ere long attacked with a severe and lingering sickness, during which the constant and kind attention of his landlady formed a contrast to the indifference and neglect which he had experienced in his former residence. Howard’s life was preserved, and, throughout his convalescence, it would seem to have been ever present to his thoughts that he owed the continuance of his life, next to the mercy of Him who gave it, to the tender hand which had ministered to his comfort. How could he reward such kindness ? Howard was not one who could feel an obligation without endeavouring a recompense. In this case he felt that nothing he *possessed* could repay, and therefore he made an offer of marriage. Strange, imprudent, and contrary to all natural inclination, as it must have appeared, he no sooner regained health than he proposed to marry this lady, whose years numbered

* Brown, p. 14.

† Brown, p. 15.

more than double his own, who was very sickly, fifty-two years of age, and who, if she ever possessed personal attractions, must have long parted with them. It was to no purpose that the prudence of the widow prompted a refusal. Howard the more strenuously pressed his suit; and, in 1752, in his twenty-fifth year, the marriage was celebrated. If Howard's conduct in this affair betrayed a want of foresight, and was censurable, our reluctance to reproach may find a plea in his singularity, and shelter itself in the sure belief that few will follow his example. In this, as in other cases, he acted upon a principle; forgetful of self, his plans were ever formed for the happiness of others. No part of his conduct could be ascribed to a rash impulse, or said to be the result of passion. He might take counsel and consider much beforehand; but, when decided, neither the frowns nor favours of the world were regarded. With him, to determine what was his duty, was, if possible, to do it. Howard was sometimes mistaken, but always sincere. He was both, perhaps, in the present case. It might be gratitude in excess—generosity carried to an extreme; if so, let an offence so unfrequent be forgiven, even though the transgressor never repented. It appears Howard lived happily with an intelligent, amiable; and pious wife about three years, when the sincere love he cherished towards her whilst living was followed by submissive lamentation at her death; and the recollection of her excellent qualities often led him to speak of her with affection and respect.

CHAPTER II.

RESOLVES TO TRAVEL. — DISTRIBUTION OF HIS WIFE'S PROPERTY.
 — EMBARKS FOR LISBON. — CAPTURED BY FRENCH PRIVATEER.
 — CRUEL TREATMENT. — IS LIBERATED. — ALLOWED TO RETURN.
 — GOES TO CARDINGTON. — HIS PURSUITS. — ELECTED F.R.S.
 — SECOND MARRIAGE. — MRS. HOWARD. — HER ILLNESS.
 — REMOVES TO WATCOMBE. — RETURNS TO CARDINGTON. —
 HOUSE AND GROUNDS. — THE HERMITAGE. — DR. AIKIN'S
 CHARACTER OF HOWARD. — MR. WHITBREAD. — HOWARD'S
 CHARITY. — CONDUCT AS A LANDLORD. — CROWDED COTTAGES
 A CAUSE OF CRIME. — SCHOOLS. — REMARKS ON EDUCATION.
 — CARDINGTON IMPROVED. — BIRTH OF HIS SON. — DEATH OF
 HIS WIFE. — REFLECTIONS.

HOWARD, bereaved of a partner whose sentiments and pursuits were in many respects congenial to his own, saw and felt a vacancy in his home, of which, notwithstanding his consolations, he was ever painfully conscious. The things about him told the absence of one beloved. But grief must not be so indulged as to beget listlessness. A sense of duty bids the mourner rouse himself, and in exertion he finds a remedy. If the scenes around too forcibly suggest sorrow, he must leave them, and in fresh ones find relief. Howard resolves again to travel.

But, first, some duties must be performed. The memory of his lamented wife must not perish with his departure. Before he goes, Howard will not only secure the good wishes and prayers of many

poor and afflicted, by his wide-spread charity, but the remembrance of her whose bounty could no longer be dispensed by her own liberal hand, must be still more endeared. He had already settled his wife's little fortune upon her sister; and now that his household furniture was no longer requisite, the poor and needy in the neighbourhood must have some token of his disinterested love—a memorial to excite, not their grief, but their gratitude towards her whose property it was, and as whose gift they might still regard it. And, lest the old gardener, whose daily loaf was the pledge of this lasting benignity, and who revered all the other Howards, should feel less esteem towards this one last departed, he especially must have his share. In him, as we hope in others, the purpose was accomplished; often, we are told, he spoke with thankful delight of what fell to his lot on this occasion—*his dividend*, as he was wont to call it, and which consisted of a bedstead and bedding complete, a table, half a dozen chairs, and a new scythe, besides a guinea for the day spent in their removal.

Apart from the benevolence of Howard's disposition, there was a seriousness of mind, and especially at the present time, which rendered the scenes of desolation and sadness even more attractive than those of enjoyment and delight. If he must travel, he will not direct his course to cheerful plains, where pictures of peace may revive the drooping spirit, or hasten towards some city rejoicing in grandeur, whose gaiety might cause

forgetfulness of woe; but there was a country wrapt in gloom, its capital in ruins, amidst which thousands of its people perished. Lisbon had just been overthrown, it had become a vast sepulchre, and was even now smouldering in its state of frightful devastation; and thither Howard bent his way. But one wiser than himself forbade. He was God's minister of mercy; and his philanthropy must not be expended in lamentation from which none could profit. If he would be an eye-witness of calamity, it must be that which he may afterwards relieve. The sequel will prove these observations pertinent.

Howard embarked for Portugal in 1756, in a packet called the "Hanover," which had not made much progress before it was captured by a French privateer, and he became a prisoner of war. His captors treated him with great cruelty; for, after having been kept forty hours without food or water, he was carried into Brest, and confined with the other prisoners in the castle of that place. Here his hardships were not at all diminished; for after being cast, with the crew and the rest of the passengers, into a loathsome dungeon, and there shut up a considerable time longer without nourishment, a joint of mutton was at length thrown into the midst of them, which, for want of even a single knife, they were obliged to tear in pieces, and gnaw like dogs.* Howard, unwilling to increase the indignation which this treatment must have excited, omits this cir-

* Brown, p. 19.

cumstance in the description he has himself given of this event and its consequences.

“In the castle at Brest,” he says in a note found in his *First Book on Prisons**, “I lay six nights upon straw; and observing how cruelly my countrymen were used there, and at Morlaix, whither I was carried next, during the two months I was at Carpaix upon parole, I corresponded with the English prisoners at Brest, Morlaix and Dinnan: at the last of those towns were several of our ship’s crew, and my servant. I had sufficient evidence of their being treated with such barbarity that many hundreds had perished; and that thirty-six were buried in a hole at Dinnan in one day. When I came to England, still on parole, I made known to the commissioners of sick and wounded seamen the sundry particulars, which gained their attention and thanks. Remonstrance was made to the French court: our sailors had redress; and those that were in the three prisons mentioned above, were brought home in the first cartel ships. A lady from Ireland who married in France, had bequeathed in trust with the magistrates of St. Maloes, sundry charities, one of which was a penny a day to every English prisoner of war at Dinnan. This was duly paid, and saved the lives of many brave and useful men. Perhaps what I suffered on this occasion increased my sympathy with the unhappy people (prisoners), whose case is the subject of this book.”

Howard, we may feel sure, rejoiced that his original purpose had been thwarted, and that he had been the means, though by suffering and much sacrifice, of securing so great an amount of good. We shall hereafter see that the benefits extended far beyond all that is here implied. One or two circumstances in the foregoing statement call for

* *State of Prisons*, 2nd ed. p. 14.

further notice. We are told that at Carpaix he was released on parole. Howard's modesty would not allow him to tell us why. It was the privilege of officers; but he was not one. It was a special favour; but wherefore granted? The treatment of his companions proves that clemency was not common. The cause was in himself. Even the cruel could discern traits in his character which declared him trustworthy;—his independence, uprightness, and self-denial for the sake of others, compelled respect.

“He in his bonds retain'd his birthright, liberty,
And sham'd oppression, till it set him free.”

But Howard, when liberated, was penniless: he had been deprived of all his money, and even stripped of his clothes, at Brest; how then could he obtain a home, and supply his wants? The same frankness which constrained the ruthless gaoler to be humane, more easily secured the confidence of another: he was welcomed to a home, and all his desires gratified, upon the simple assertion that payment should be made when remittances from England could be obtained. Nor was the probity of his character unobserved by those higher in authority. By them he was allowed to visit England on giving a promise to return, unless a naval officer should be released in exchange. Heartily did his friends rejoice on his arrival; but, until the consent of Government to the conditions of his stay had been complied with, he desired them to suspend

their congratulations; for his continuing in his native land, or returning into exile, entirely depended upon that contingency. Happily the arrangement was effected, and Howard at once commenced those successful exertions to which he has referred.

The paternal estate at Cardington, further endeared to Howard as the home of childhood, now attracted his attention, and he determined upon its improvement and extension. He purchased an adjoining farm, and generally resided upon his property. His friends and acquaintances in Bedfordshire were, for a considerable time, very limited in number. This circumstance was probably occasioned by his aversion from those country sports to which most of his equals were devoted. He appears to have spent his days in superintending the necessary alterations upon his estate, advancing the welfare of his tenants, and especially in administering to the wants of the poor and dependent. Now, too, he had further leisure for those literary pursuits in which he had before found relaxation and pleasure; and for engaging in which an additional stimulus had been created by his election to a fellowship of the Royal Society, which took place May 13th, 1756. Howard's biographers observe on this occasion, that it was not to be ascribed to any extraordinary proficiency in science to which he had attained, but that in accordance with the practice of the society, as a gentleman of leisure and fortune, he was incorporated into

their body.* Such a custom of the Society may have been judicious, and philosophic inquiry may have been promoted by the plan, although probably most of its members so elected were content with the dignity conferred, without considering any obligation implied. Not so, Howard. To his mind, distinction, of whatever kind, prescribed duty; and, if his mental capacity and education did not qualify him for research and discovery in abstruse matters of science, he would, nevertheless, contribute his quota of information — the result of observation and experiment. Accordingly, we find three papers of his were published in the Philosophical Transactions. They are the following, which, though subsequently written, may best be noticed here.

In Vol. LIV. On the degree of cold observed at Cardington in the winter of 1763, when Bird's thermometer was as low as $10\frac{1}{2}$.†

In Vol. LVII. On the heat of the waters at Bath, containing a table of the heat of the waters of the different baths.

In Vol. LXI. On the heat of the ground on Mount Vesuvius.

* Brown, p. 22. Aikin, p. 21.

† I extract the following from a letter in the Gentleman's Magazine, April, 1790. "As an instance that, in whatever Mr. Howard engaged, it was *summis viribus*, it may not be unworthy of notice to mention, that, on the frost setting in, he used, during the continuance, to leave his bed at two every morning, for the purpose of observing the state of a thermometer, which was placed in his garden at some distance from the house."

Dr. Aikin also tells us* that "meteorological observations were much to his taste; and he employed himself with assiduity in some experiments on the effects of the union of the primary colours in different proportions."

Full of interest to himself and of advantage to others, as were Howard's occupations at this time, he felt that a companion in his tranquil enjoyment, and a helpmate in his charitable efforts, was needful to his welfare. One suitable in all respects was ere long found, in the person of Henrietta, daughter of Edward Leeds, Esq., of Croxton in Cambridgeshire, a serjeant-at-law, to whom Howard was married on the 25th April, 1758. This lady is described as possessing, in no ordinary degree, all the softer virtues of her sex; not deficient in personal attractions, amiable in her disposition, and ardent in her affection; ever conforming herself to her husband's wishes, and cheerfully seconding the execution of all his plans. Whilst so well calculated in these respects to promote the happiness of her partner, there was a principle in both which cemented their affections, and ensured the constancy and continuance of mutual endeavours to advance the welfare of each other. "Religion," we are told, "had a like influence upon both their minds; and Mr. Howard had the supreme delight of seeing the wife of his fondest affections as deeply impressed with the importance of this 'one thing needful,' as from

* P. 23.

the earliest period his own mind appears to have been." *

The house at Cardington had been enlarged and furnished with more taste than splendour. It was decorated with the purchases of Howard's first Italian tour, and the linen, we are told, was the homespun produce of the aged and infirm in the village, who had been thus judiciously employed by him since he came amongst them. To this abode of comfort Howard brought his bride; and there for a while they lived, happy in the society of each other, and both rejoicing in labours of love towards those around them. Never did the morning sun gild a prospect with more promise of continued brightness, than the hope was cheering which enlivened the dawn of Howard's nuptial days. But the brilliant sunlight of an early morn is seldom lasting. A cloud arises, the lustre is eclipsed, and the glory of the scene is gone. Howard, perhaps, had not to learn the lesson which such vicissitudes may teach; yet even one of more experience than he possessed in a like condition, with only human foresight, might have calculated upon lengthened blessedness. Happily for him, Howard read not only the book of Nature, but another — one which tells that earthly happiness may soon be interrupted; which says, enjoy God's temporal blessings, but hold them as transitory, and live prepared to part with them when called upon. The following pages will show

* Brown, p. 25.

that I do not much anticipate the occasion for such resignation.

Henrietta Howard, though endowed with so many gifts of heart and mind, retained them in a weak and fragile form. Her health soon failed. The air of Cardington was thought unfavourable, and a more genial climate must be chosen. A residence in a southern county might restore and strengthen. The possibility was worth the trial, at any cost. An estate was found for sale, at Watcombe, near Lymington, and forthwith the purchase was effected, for 7000*l*.

The following account, given us by Dr. Aikin, is the only record of Howard's life in Hampshire:—

“Concerning his way of life in this pleasant retreat, I find nothing characteristic to relate, except the state of perfect security and harmony in which he managed to live in the midst of a people, against whom his predecessor thought it necessary to employ all the contrivances of engines and guns in order to preserve himself from their hostilities. He had, indeed, none of those propensities which so frequently embroil country gentlemen with their neighbours, both small and great. He was no sportsman, no executor of the game laws, and in no respect an encroacher on the rights and advantages of others. In possessing him, the poor could not fail soon to find that they had acquired a protector and benefactor; and I am unwilling to believe that in any part of the world these relations are not returned with gratitude and attachment. After continuing at Watcombe three or four years, he sold the place and went back to Cardington, which thenceforth became his fixed residence.”*

* Aikin, p. 24. et seq.

Two reasons have been assigned for the return to Cardington. One, that the vapour arising from the neighbouring forest prevented accuracy in Howard's astronomical observations.* This was an unlikely cause for leaving an abode chosen for the sake of one whom he looked upon with a love infinitely more constraining than was his concern for science, or for any created object the universe contained. But there was cause to fear that a mistake had been made, that the health of his wife was injured by the change; and this was a reason at once sufficient for the return.

Again settled at Cardington, Howard began to carry into effect plans before projected, and to complete improvements which had been left unfinished; and the house was further enlarged. His own taste was good, but that of his wife was more highly cultivated; and their combined efforts gave the residence a simplicity and elegance which it never before had. The front was adorned with lattice-work, and windows in a suitable style replaced the gloomy casements. The aspect was preserved — it was the village churchyard, and suggested to these pious minds many a profitable, and few unpleasant thoughts. Behind the house new rooms were built, and a handsome entrance there erected. The grounds were tastefully arranged; a kitchen garden formed the centre, but so concealed with evergreens and other shrubs, that the stranger when strolling sometimes found himself within it, before he knew

* Gentleman's Mag. April, 1790.

it was there; the occasional surprise was some pleasantry to these gentle spirits, whose deception was always harmless. A lawn sloped from the dwelling; and a broad gravel walk, over which some lofty trees threw a grateful shade, surrounded all. In one part of this grew some majestic firs. His biographer, whose description I now insert, tells us —

“The still silence of this shady grove was his most favourite resort; and in its mossy path he spent many a solitary hour in devising, and many a social one in communicating to his friends, when devised, those glorious schemes of benevolence, which will never cease to impart to every spot his footsteps are known to have traversed on so merciful an errand, a charm more powerful than, without the magic influence of some such genius of the place, can dwell in nature’s loveliest or sublimest scenes. The trees are still standing where they were first planted by his hand, and the gardener who watered the nursling shoots is yet living, in his eighty-sixth year, to prune, though with a sparing hand, — unwilling to lop off anything his master loved to cherish, — the exuberance of their spreading boughs. One tree, in particular, seems to be an object of his especial care. It was planted, as he delights to tell you, by Mrs. Howard, on the original formation of the walk, and therefore always possessed a peculiar charm in her husband’s eyes. Nor has the moss with which Mr. Howard delighted to see the paths of his pleasure grounds and gardens completely overspread, entirely disappeared. The old man, upon a visit I lately paid to them, complained however, most bitterly, that the children of the present occupier of the house had sadly spoiled its beauty, and were in a fair way to root it up altogether; whilst his indulgent master, on the other hand, good-naturedly told me, that his old gardener, thinking it little less than sacri-

lege to disturb it, would not suffer him — for, from the length and fidelity of his services to the successive residents at Cardington, he is left to do pretty much as he pleases in what he considers his own territories — to remove any of the dingy edges of the gravel walks which, at least in their present condition, he himself considers rather an eyesore than an agreeable addition. It is now more than half a century since a master whom he loved, and a fellow-servant with whom he spent some of the happiest hours of his life, laboured with this attached domestic, then in the full vigour of his days, during all the inclemency of a severe frost, in laying out those walks, and in planting (chiefly by that master's own hand) the trees around it."*

But the grove was not the only place for retirement and quiet reflection to which Howard often resorted in those grounds. In the part least exposed to interruption, a rustic building was erected. The fabric, we learn, was curiously constructed of roots and trunks of trees; the roof thatched. Its door and windows were gothic, admitting light enough for studious reading, but the glare which might distract was carefully excluded; all within was rude, and corresponding with the outward form. A monitory hour-glass had its appropriate place; a model, some memorial of his former travels, and a female figure bent as in the attitude of pious contemplation — these were the significant ornaments in Howard's hermitage. A small bookcase enclosed some favourite volumes — amongst them the works of Flavel, Hervey, Young, and Milton,

* Brown, p. 29.

with some popular treatises on philosophical subjects. But amidst these, and most prominent because most perused, was seen that Sacred Book, from which Howard derived his principles, and by which he ruled his life. *Here* many an hour was spent in holy intercourse with God. *Here* self-examination suggested prayer, and reflection excited praise, both tending to sustain under trials, and to strengthen amidst conflicts, and alike preparing the soul for the condition when these shall cease. Thus Howard's oratory reminds us of Cowper's hermitage—it was made a place "*preliminary to the last retreat.*" And then lest any should violate the sanctity of this little temple, or lest he himself at any time should enter it with thoughts and feelings which might thwart its purpose, there was placed immediately opposite to its doors an inscription, of which only the following part has been preserved —

"O solitude, bless'd state of man below,
Friend to our thoughts and balm of all our woe ;
Far from throng'd cities my abode remove,
To realms of innocence, and peace, and love ;

That when the sable shades of death appear,
And life's clear light no more these eyes shall cheer,
Its work may be fulfill'd ; its prospects won,
By virtue measured, not a setting sun.*

Throughout Howard's life the proverb, that "cleanliness is next to godliness," was remem-

* The former of these stanzas has been recognized as a quotation found in Brown's *Essays on the Universe*, the latter has been ascribed to Henrietta Howard.

bered : " he was a very Mussulman in his ablutions," says Dr. Aikin ; and so adjoining the root-house a bath was constructed, into which it was his custom to plunge every morning, both winter and summer.

It must not be supposed, that because Howard's mind was thus contemplative and pious, he lived as a recluse ; or that because he gave a portion of his time to the culture of his grounds and garden, his attention was thus diverted from other and higher duties. This was his recreation, whereby a weakly constitution derived strength, whilst his private meditation, study, and prayer, disposed and fitted him for more active service in the station of life in which God had placed him. Dr. Aikin, concerning whom I must here observe that, although as a man of the world, — learned, judicious, and entertaining much respect for religion, — he was well able to appreciate the *moral excellencies* of his friend, yet the decided piety which pervaded Howard's conduct, and often prevented conformity to the world's practice, appears to have been beyond his comprehension. It was a deep, abiding, and unwavering spiritual-mindedness, with which he could not sympathize ; hence, in the following and other extracts we find Howard characterized as *singular*, *peculiar*, and *scrupulous*. The former terms may, we fear, describe the earnest Christian now, as they then did ; but the propriety of the latter depends upon the person who applies it.

" His sobriety of manners and peculiarities of living did not fit him for much promiscuous society ; yet no man

received his select friends with more true hospitality ; and he always maintained an intercourse with several of the first persons in his county who knew and respected his worth. Indeed, however uncomplying he might be with the freedoms and irregularities of polite life, he was by no means negligent of its received forms ; and, though he might be denominated a man of scruples and singularities, no one would dispute his claim to the title of a *gentleman*.”*

Amongst others in the county with whom Howard lived on terms of friendship, was Mr. Whitbread, to whom, indeed, he was related, and who seems at this time to have admired and imitated the private munificence of his kinsman, perhaps with as much real advantage to society as that which afterwards resulted from association with him in a political contest.

Subsequently to this period, Mr. Whitbread, deeply imbued with the same spirit of philanthropy, adopted some of Howard's plans, co-operated with him in others, and probably, out of his immense resources, afforded him some pecuniary assistance in furtherance of his charitable exertions.

Of Howard's private charity amongst the afflicted and helpless poor, we have already spoken. Its continuance and increase was the necessary consequence of that spiritual intercourse, which has been described. Economical in his own expenditure, he could afford to be munificent towards those in need. His alms were ever proportioned to his means, and additional mercies were so many incentives to active

* Aikin, p. 26.

benevolence. Gratitude enforced generosity. He remembered that he had freely received, and therefore freely did he give. It must not, however, be supposed that his gifts were indiscriminately bestowed. They were liberally poured forth, like a stream that could not stagnate — silent, deep, and rapid, yet steadily directed in the proper channel. Mere poverty, irrespective of the cause, did not entitle its victim to his bounty. The sick, the disabled, and the aged were its special objects. Idleness was hateful to him, but industry found in him a ready patron. Those capable of supporting themselves must make the effort if they would find in Howard a friend and helper. He would give employment, and so grant the opportunity; but he was ever anxious to make the indigent more provident and less dependent. The plan he adopted in furnishing and often replenishing his house with the linen from the village looms to an extent far beyond necessary demands, illustrates the principle upon which he continually acted.

In his character as a landlord, Howard's conduct was exemplary. The village of Cardington is reported to have been sunk in profligacy and vice at the time he went to his estate. He could not witness this with complacency, or without a vigorous effort for its correction and improvement. Some causes of the existing depravity were easily discerned. Amongst the most conspicuous was the wretched want of accommodation in the cottages of the poor. Here, as everywhere, misery and crime

were the consequences of that promiscuous crowding, without respect to sex, age, or circumstances, whereby modesty is first destroyed, lewdness ere long usurps its place, all self-respect is lost, the moral sense perverted, and thus the very foundations of virtue are undermined. Nothing has tended more to demoralize our rural population, and to pollute our land with gross sensuality, which ensures the perpetration of crime to pay its cost, than the negligence of so many of our landed proprietors in not constructing dwellings adequate to the number of their labouring dependents, and of dimensions suited to the families who must occupy them. Honourable exceptions there have been, and many such there are now; but truly there has been an infatuation, of which the folly is only surpassed by its inhumanity, under which men have cared more for the cattle in their stables and in their stalls, than for fellow-creatures whom they have treated as an encumbrance rather than as lawful tenants on their native land, and as men needful for its culture. It is strange that a regard for personal security, and for the defence and preservation of property, has not prevailed on persons, destitute of more generous motives, to provide against evils so perilous to themselves as those with which the over-peopled tenement is ever pregnant! But we marvel more that professed Christians, whether as individuals or as a community, should have so long witnessed the evil, and suffered from its direful effects, without bestirring themselves to supply a

remedy! Such indifference has rendered us more chargeable with guilt than those whose degradation has been almost compulsory. Some retribution we do experience. If the lodgings of our poor are not enlarged, our gaols are. Costly prosecutions and punishments, which seldom permanently correct whilst such causes for relapse and incentives to the repetition of crime remain, — these are penalties, not indeed commensurate to the enormity of our neglect; but inflicted it may be to forewarn in mercy, that more deserved vengeance may be averted. Long experience amongst prisoners, and the endeavour to trace crime to its cause, has convinced the writer that not one of our social evils tends more to the degeneracy and guilt under which our land groans, than the deficiency which he deprecates. The squalor and filth, so loathsome to the visitor of the over-crowded cottage, is the true, but imperfect type of the impurity and sordid vices in which the minds of its tenants are debased. Our space must not be occupied in tracing the ramifications of this gangrene in our social system, or painful examples might be adduced to prove, that whilst misery and demoralization so prevail within the narrow walls, the wanderer, compelled at length to forsake them, is a victim prepared for seduction in almost any of its thousand forms. The beer-house, or, if possible, some worse haunt, becomes the temporary habitation, crime is the condition of remaining, and the tenement on these terms is the mere passage to the prison. Another calamitous

result of the evil we deplore is, the severance of that compact which should subsist between those dependent and their superiors. A loss of all salutary influence is consequent upon such neglect. Let a man feel that he is uncared for, or treated as an outcast, and he will neither cherish respect towards those above him, nor regard their rights. To men of some education and of upright character, the benefits arising from the presence and power of a large and independent proprietor are evidently seen, very sensibly felt, and thankfully acknowledged : but if the poor and illiterate become, or through negligence remain, morally corrupted also, they will not only be incapable of appreciating some advantages of which they may still partake, but will be ready, whenever the opportunity may occur, to dispute the right and the reality of power from which they have derived so little profit. Their estimate of the value of that power is formed according to the privations or comforts they experience, not from any process of reasoning. They have discernment enough to distinguish between the landlord whose personal expenditure is not allowed to interfere with relative duties, and one whose private extravagance and self-indulgence necessarily prevent a due regard for his dependents. By the conduct of the latter a spirit of anarchy is generated, there is soon a temptation to transgress, the restraint is gone, the law is violated, perhaps justly vindicated : but in the day of reckoning which must hereafter come, when judgment shall

be regulated by that which human tribunals cannot recognize, — when the causes of offences, not less than the conduct of offenders, shall be the subject of inquiry, who does not see that if the criminal perish, the careless will not escape!

We return to our memoir, in the hope that the importance of the subject may be an apology for the digression, and glad if the reader should be disposed to imitate Howard in the particulars we are about to describe. Never perhaps did any man more constantly remember that property implies responsibility; that there are duties correspondent in importance to the extent of our possessions; and that we hold as stewards that which we either inherit or acquire. In what measure Howard's practice was consistent with his belief, and he faithful to his trust, may be inferred from the following statement of his biographer:

“It seems to have been the capital object of his ambition, that the poor in his village should be the most orderly in their manners, the neatest in their persons and habitations, and possessed of the greatest share of the comforts of life, that could be met with in any part of England. And as it was his disposition to carry everything he undertook to the greatest pitch of perfection, so he spared no pains or expense to effect his purpose. He began by building a number of neat cottages on his estate, annexing to each a little land for a garden and other conveniences. In this project, which might be considered as an object of taste, as well as of benevolence, he had the full concurrence of his excellent partner. I remember his relating that once, having settled his accounts at the close of a year, and found a balance in his favour, he proposed to

his wife to make use of it in a journey to London, or any other gratification she chose. ‘What a pretty cottage it would build,’ was her answer, and the money was so employed. These comfortable habitations he peopled with the most industrious and sober tenants he could find; and over them he exercised the superintendence of master and father combined. He was careful to furnish them with employment, to assist them in sickness and distress, and to educate their children. In order to preserve their morals, he made it a condition that they should regularly attend their several places of worship, and abstain from public-houses and from such amusements as he thought pernicious; and he secured their compliance with his rules by making them tenants at will.” *

In the above extract we are told that Howard was careful to educate the *children* of his dependents. It may be matter of surprise that one so enlightened, so liberal, and whose opinions and practices were so far in advance of the generation which he laboured to improve, should have confined the education he provided to the *children* of his charge. We are sure this arose from no lack of energy, or of interest in the improvement of those adult subjects whom he appears to have governed with a truly patriarchal discipline, to which they submitted in a manner as pleasing as it was surely profitable. *Why* there was exclusion from so great a benefit can be only conjectured: but the silence of Howard himself on the subject would seem to imply that the prevalent idea of adults being too old to learn, prevented the attempt to teach, and that the effort was omitted as a matter of course, requiring no explanation. Perhaps

* Aikin, pp. 27. 29.

there were special circumstances ; or it may be that, although schools were not established, secular instruction was to some extent imparted. But as respects the young it was Howard's earnest desire to communicate all the learning that was needful, and at the same time he showed a wise discretion in not giving more than might be advantageous. "He established schools," says Dr. Aikin, "for both sexes, conducted upon the most judicious plan. The girls were taught reading and needlework in a plain way ; the boys reading, and some of them writing, and the rudiments of arithmetic."*

When estimating the conduct of Howard in these educational arrangements we must consider the period in which he lived. A certain degree of mental instruction is necessary to the welfare of the poorer classes. So much as shall enable them to read and write may be almost essential to their comfort, prosperity, and good conduct. Abstractedly considered, it is desirable that instruction to a much greater extent should be communicated ; but circumstances taken into account, that amount might be sufficient, and more might injure. There can be no doubt but that learning has a tendency to raise the scholar in the scale of society ; and therefore in a state in which power depends rather upon property than education, subordination will best be preserved by regulating instruction according to the various grades. In our own day the literary acquirements of the higher and middle classes are

* Aikin, p. 35.

so extensive and so general, that a far greater amount of knowledge may be imparted to their inferiors, without the risk of so raising them as to endanger their subordinancy. But it was far different in Howard's day. Our rural population was then in a state of ignorance so gross that, whilst the labourer could seldom repeat the alphabet, the education of his employer had rarely been carried beyond the rudiments of the science absolutely needful. To have elevated the children of those labourers by an amount of secular instruction equal to that which the families of their masters were likely to receive, would have been injudicious, if not unjust. Howard would not be guilty of either offence. There was prudence in all his philanthropic plans. And this is further seen when we are acquainted with and consider the fact, that he not only desired to educate the offspring of his own tenants and dependents, but that the children around should share the same privilege. There was a gradual enlargement of that benevolence which was ere long to embrace the world in its efforts. Howard sympathised with his sovereign, who piously wished that every child in his dominions might be able to read its Bible: and in proportion to his power he sought the accomplishment of that desire. But if, instead of endeavouring to bestow only the instruction needful to this end he had given a more general scholarship, how soon and how surely would opposition have been excited, and have pre-

vented the diffusion of that really useful knowledge which by his caution and discretion was effected.

Another feature in these arrangements, proving the wisdom of Howard, is remarkable. There was a moral discipline evident throughout. His object was really to *educate them as Christians*. To this end he would not only *teach*, but *train* them. Regarding himself as a patron and sponsor of the children he adopted, it was his endeavour to discharge the duties of such offices. He provided not only that they should learn the “things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul’s health,” but that “they should be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and Christian life.” He called upon them to frequent God’s sanctuary, to hear sermons, and to the utmost of his power, both by precept and example, he taught them not merely to be hearers, but “doers of the word.” Nor were these last essentials of godly discipline enforced only on the children under his control: they were also conditions of tenantry. Adults must thus far conform. Self-denial, sobriety, and obedience must distinguish their behaviour. The public-house must be relinquished, gambling must be given up, the cock-pit and the prize-fight abjured, and thenceforth a recompense was found in the favour, protection, and friendship of their benefactor. This was an ample compensation to them in the life present; but many, we doubt not, were by such means brought to the knowledge, faith, and fear of God, and following the example of Howard, as he

followed his Divine Master, are with him partakers of Christ's heavenly kingdom.

As testimony to the misery and vice which was prevailing at Cardington when Howard entered upon his estate, was quoted when we began to describe his corrective arrangements, so it is cheering at this stage of his life to adduce the following statement of the success of his plans. It is transcribed from a contemporary periodical.

"Cardington, which seemed at one time to contain the abodes of poverty and wretchedness, soon became one of the neatest villages in the kingdom; exhibiting all the pleasing appearances of competency and content, the natural rewards of industry and virtue."*

We must now revert to a period of most painful interest in the life of Howard. The mention which has been made of the weakly constitution of his beloved wife, of her continued sickness, and of an unsuccessful change of climate, has prepared the reader for the melancholy event we must now record. Not quite seven years had elapsed since that bright April morning when he rejoiced with a bridegroom's gladness. We have said the changes of that variable month were the too certain emblem of his prospects. There was much enjoyment, with some anxious forebodings, during his short matrimonial day; and as the evening sun often glows with increased radiance before it sets, so at the close of this happy part of Howard's life his prospect brightened, and the succeeding gloom was

* Universal Mag. vol. lxxxvi.

deepened by the beams of hope which had just before cheered his heart. Blessed with an affectionate partner, with a competent fortune, living in peace, and revered by his dependents, what human lot could be more enviable than his! But Howard lacked one blessing—he was childless: and often we may believe in his prosperity was prayer offered that it might not cease with himself, but that a son might be granted to share and inherit it. At length the prayer was answered; and this appeared to complete all that was wanting to his happiness. But unalloyed felicity was not fit for Howard, nor perhaps for any man in this state of probation, and therefore the last blessing which filled his soul with delight entailed affliction in its most painful form. His beloved wife gave birth to a son, Feb. 5th, 1765. Notwithstanding previous weakness, she appeared to be strong and doing well. The pain and peril seemed, and was said to be past. Four days after, the fond husband, full of joy and gratitude, goes to the house of God, and there gives thanks: with joy augmented, as it ever is, by praise given to God its author, he hastens from the church to that chamber, the scene of mercy, and where with one who shared his happiness he would join in the repetition of his praise. But the pious purpose is prevented. His wife becomes worse. She suddenly expires in those arms just before uplifted in gratitude for her deliverance! Words would be wasted in any attempt to describe the anguish of

Howard's heart. He has left us no record of his grief —

“Silence in truth would speak his sorrow best,
For deepest wounds can least their feelings tell.”

Language most forcible would still be feeble, if applied to represent his feelings before the lifeless object of his love was committed to the tomb. The following inscription in Cardington Church shows its locality — let it restrain the tear which sympathy may excite, — for

In hope of a resurrection to eternal life,
Through the mercy of God by means of Jesus Christ,
Rests the mortal part of

HENRIETTA HOWARD,

Daughter of EDWARD LEEDS, ESQ.

of CROXTON, in CAMBRIDGESHIRE,

Who died the 31st of March, 1765, aged 39.

She opened her mouth with

Wisdom,

And in her tongue was the law of kindness.

Prov. xxxi. 26.

It is when the first flood of grief which bursts from the heart of one thus bereaved has subsided, and the last sad office of affection has been performed, that the mourner becomes more conscious of his loss; the reality is forced upon him by the desolation he then feels. So with Howard. Bowed down in sadness, — not to murmur, but to submit; in the bitterness of his sorrow he was silent — dumb, for it was God's doing! Resigned amidst

grief faith soon suggested thoughts of comfort, and they found expression on the tablet just transcribed.

Many indeed were the circumstances which tended to aggravate the sorrow of the widower; yet there were some that might alleviate his grief, and connected with the memory of the departed there was much that might console. They had been united in the same holy faith; they lived, and enlivened each other, by the same hope; and both abounded in the feelings and fruits of charity. There was a constant harmony of thought and desire, ever issuing in combined acts of benevolence. It was soothing to reflect upon the simplicity of her faith and upon her self-denial for the sake of himself and others, shown in labours of love which proved the sincerity of that faith. And now that she had ceased from them, it was cheering to recollect that those works followed her, and would never be forgotten. When too he called to mind that soon after their marriage she had parted with her jewels, that she might extend her charities, how would the remembrance of that exchange tend to cheer and excite the certain hope that, instead of such glittering decorations, she was gone to receive that "crown of glory which fadeth not away!"

But whilst this similarity of sentiment, this sympathy and mutual assistance in well-doing, rendered the separation more painful, was such a dispensation of Divine Providence on these accounts more mysterious? Truly to those present — to the contem-

poraries and companions of Howard, — the visitation must have appeared inexplicable. Perplexed as they must have been by its obscurity, it was happy for them, if sharing the faith of the bereaved survivor, they could confide in the wisdom and goodness of Him who “though His ways are past finding out,” yet “doeth all things well.” But though human foresight cannot penetrate God’s purposes, nor our observation of passing events enable us to comprehend His plans, yet how often in the retrospect we can clearly trace His wisdom, power, and love. Is it permitted for the confirmation of our faith, and for our consolation if afflicted, to discern the truth that “whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth,” — that such chastisement is for their profit, that they may be partakers of His holiness, and that “though their affliction be not joyous but grievous, it shall produce in them the peaceable fruits of righteousness?” The writer believes it is: and surely biography is comparatively worthless, unless reflection shall collect its lessons. The further we proceed with these pages, the more plainly we shall perceive that the subject of them cannot be regarded as a merely private person; a truth applicable in some measure to all men, but especially to Howard. He was God’s chosen instrument to accomplish a great work of mercy, and this calamity was no more an occurrence of chance, or less foreseen and sent of God than when, as decreed for a sign to His people, it was one day predicted to the prophet, “Behold, I take away the

desire of thine eyes with a stroke," — "And at even his wife died." * We have before compared the future Philanthropist to the Patriarch called to leave his country and his kindred, to receive and impart blessings by his obedience; the parallel is yet traceable, for the time was approaching when Howard must go forth on his mission of mercy, and this painful bereavement prepared his way. The beloved obstacle was removed by Him, who, through the abundance of consolation, could recompense the loss. The strongest bond which attached him to his native land and his narrow sphere was broken; his domestic ties were loosened, that his duties might be enlarged; and the love which, though not concentrated in one, was almost circumscribed in its agency by limits in which her efforts could be united with his own, was now to be diffused, and to pour forth its benign and powerful influence upon a suffering world.

* Ezek. xxiv. 16. 18.

CHAPTER III.

HOWARD AS A PARENT. — HIS OPINIONS ON EDUCATION. — HIS MISTAKES. — TREATMENT OF HIS CHILD. — COWPER A PARALLEL. — A WARNING TO PARENTS. — ANECDOTES. — HOWARD VINDICATED. — GOES TO BATH. — TOUR THROUGH HOLLAND. — HIS SON SENT TO SCHOOL.

THE subject of our memoir is not only a widower, but a parent. If conscious of his bereaved condition, he was cast down and desolate, there was an occasional interruption to the sad stillness of his home, the feeble voice of one surviving which forbade the listlessness of indulged grief, and whilst it consoled with the assurance that he was not alone, called forth exertion, and reminded of duty. The mourner was thus aroused, and the energy of Howard's character combined with paternal affection, prompted him, even in the *infancy* of his child, not only to discharge the father's duty, but to enter upon the task for which maternal tenderness is so much wanted. This was a mistake; and the results, as the sequel will show, were the most disastrous. The peculiar excellences in Howard's character which so eminently qualified him for the former, as much unfitted him for the latter office. It was his conviction that the management of children should commence in the first months of life. Dr. Aikin tells us that "according to his ideas,

education had place from the very first dawn of the mental faculties." The opinion was right, but the want of experience caused him to err in its application. It is not only difficult to decide *when* the first ray quickens the intellect, but whether the perception of different things is at one and the same time imparted. A child's comprehension may be not only *gradually* excited, but the subjects of it may be *successively* discerned. And one consequence of the corruption of our nature is, that the passions are gratified before the power to control them is granted. These must not be encouraged, yet very gently subdued; and for this the soothing fondness of the mother or the nurse is especially needful. Howard, through the early loss of his own mother and his imperfect education, had neither witnessed the force of maternal endearment, nor otherwise learned this lesson. His theory of education was based upon a principle, and he was therefore uncompromising. Hence that education was not the leading of love, it was the attempt to coerce. Restraint, compulsion, and chastisement were applied too soon. The consequence of this premature discipline was that his son became submissive and obedient throughout his boyhood, but renounced subjection in youth, became profligate, and ere long imbecile. Whilst under parental authority fear influenced his conduct, and it was fair and promising; but no sooner was the outward restraint gone and temptation presented, than vicious inclinations were indulged and defied subjection;

there was no principle disposing to their resistance and promoting self-control: they hurried their victim into gross sensualities; the enfeebled mind gave way, and madness followed — a melancholy, but withal a most instructive lesson to even the best of parents, that paternal restraint must be founded upon filial love rather than fear, if they would so influence the child's conduct as rightly to form the character. Other means, of course, must accompany a Christian education, but the proper method of securing dutiful affection is here spoken of — since in *this* particular the mistake was made. Howard himself perceived it too late; and his biographer, notwithstanding his kind attempt to show that the son's imbecility was not assignable to his friend's errors, concludes his account by saying —

“I think it highly probable, that a father, whose presence was associated with the perception of restraint and refusal, should always have inspired more awe than affection; and should never have created that filial confidence, which is both the most pleasing and most salutary of the sentiments attending that relation. And this has been the great evil of that rigorous mode of education, once so general, and still frequent, among persons of a particular persuasion. I have authority to say, that Mr. Howard was at length sensible that he had in some measure mistaken the mode of forming his son to that character he wished him to acquire; though, with respect to his mental derangement, I know that he imputed no blame to himself on that head. With what parental sorrow he was affected by that event will appear in the progress of the narration.”*

* Aikin, pp. 46, 47.

An extract from a letter, written by Howard from Venice several years later, when informed of his son's misconduct, may be here inserted as proving the truth of the above remarks: —

“It is with great concern I hear the account of my son's behaviour. I fear he gives you as well as others a great deal of trouble. The loss of a mother is a great loss to children! The mother checks them, and forms the mind, curbing the corrupt passions of pride and self-will, which are seen very early in children. I must leave it to Him with whom are all hearts, and sigh in secret; trusting that the blessing of such an excellent mother is yet laid up for him.”*

The mistakes made by his fond surviving parent in the case of the poet Cowper, and that morbid sensibility — perhaps even the worse mental derangement — which was to a considerable extent assignable to them, render his case very similar to that we have described. Hayley, with force and feeling, observes —

“The mother of Cowper was dead; and fathers, though good men, are in general utterly unfit to manage their young and tender orphans.”†

Far be it from the writer to say a word in defence of that abuse with which Howard has been assailed.‡ Frailty and imperfection are common to all men. Omniscience alone is too wise to err. If there were reasons to suppose the subject of our

* Brown, p. 491.

† Life of Cowper, vol. i. p. 8.

‡ I have a sentence before me in which it is said that, “The prospects of the young man were blasted by paternal severity,” that he “yielded a small portion of the milk of human kindness to an only and even beloved son.” — *Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1790.

Memoir defective as a parent, it was in his want of judgment, not in any deficiency of love; the result of circumstances, and the source of sorrow. Even if there were some absence of affection towards the son, when all the world *beside* was loved, surely charity might suggest silence, and suppose that some unknown cause had occasioned a circumstance so inexplicable. Howard would even then demand our veneration, although he had once failed in the grace by which he was most distinguished. One single example of unfailing love and of a perfect life has been presented to us, but in all beside there has been something wanting; they were at some time deficient in the very virtues which most adorned them. The faith of Abraham, the meekness of Moses, and the firmness of Peter, even upon occasions when their constancy might have been most expected, proved imperfect; and the faithful record of their failings has been preserved, alike to forewarn against presumption, and to forbid discouragement. We should not, therefore, have wondered if Howard's philanthropy had also failed where it might have been most looked for. But of this we have no proof. On the contrary, it was the very ardour of his affection acting upon an unswerving principle which produced the evil. Steadfast in purpose, unwavering in his sense of duty, and somewhat stern in the manner of its performance, he became the instructor of his child with a strictness proportioned to the strength of his love, but with a zeal unchastened either by observation or experi-

ence. The motives and the energy which characterised all other philanthropic exertions were now almost concentrated in this chief object of his regard, and there was nothing to counteract the overpowering effect. Love induced him to exact obedience by a *command*, and “the mouth in which was the *law of kindness*” had been closed in death. A dispensation in this respect too mysterious for comment! I describe what I conceive to have been Howard’s character as a parent at greater length, not merely with a view to his vindication from unmerited reproaches, but because there is no portion of his life in which, notwithstanding his errors, the real excellences of his character are more clearly discernible. His biographers I believe to have been much mistaken. Enemies have been unwarranted in their cruel aspersions; and friends, in admiration of his humanity, have forgotten that he was but human. In Howard I think we recognise this truth, that even if the virtues of any man were perfect, wisdom would still be wanting, so to regulate their exercise that a disproportionate influence should not be productive of evil instead of good.

We have been furnished with some anecdotes tending to illustrate Howard’s parental discipline. It is unnecessary to cite many trifling incidents which have been adduced to show that there never was intentional unkindness or severity in his conduct. We need not prove that he purchased toys, was companion in the sports, and ever looked with pleasure upon the playfulness of his darling infant. No doubt this was the case;

but, without supposing him capricious, this was quite consistent with an arbitrary rule and a rigorous authority demanding instant submission in every circumstance of his boy's behaviour. It might be more difficult on that account to exact the obedience, but it does not disprove the attempt. In his management we learn that he wisely prohibited his servants from indulging his child with such things as sweetmeats, and other niceties, which gratify the palate to the rejection of more wholesome viands. Another judicious prohibition was against the foolish practice of consenting to a child's desires to stop its crying. This propensity in children he was especially careful to correct.

"I give an instance of it," says Dr. Aikin, "which I had from himself. His child one day wanting something which he was not to have, fell into a fit of crying, which the nurse could not pacify; Mr. Howard took him from her, and laid him quietly in his lap, till, fatigued with crying, he became still: this process a few times repeated, had such an effect, that the child if crying ever so violently was rendered quiet the instant his father took him." *

There was much to admire, and that which we may well imitate in this simple, patient method. In what follows we see more to lament and avoid. "By firmness he is said to have brought his son to that habit of implicit obedience which induced him to express the opinion that he would have put his finger into the fire, if he had ordered him to do so." † *This we are sure* was spoken in no boastful

* Aikin, p. 44.

† Brown, p. 58.

spirit, and we have some evidence that the conviction was warranted : for a venerable friend of Mr. Howard tells us — “ When I was with some friends on a visit to him, he took us into his garden, and, as we were walking, he bid the child put off his shoe, which he did, and walked as well as he could upon the ground for a short time, till his father desired him to put it on again.” *

One circumstance occurred during the earliest years of his son’s life, which Howard’s adversaries misrepresented, and made the occasion of malicious calumny. It was asserted that for some trifling offence committed by the child, he once locked him up for several hours in a solitary place, having soon after gone to Bedford with the key in his pocket, and not returning till night. The following extract, however, from a letter written by a friend †, in the year of Howard’s death, will be read with interest as a complete vindication.

“ I was persuaded this dismal story was an absolute falsehood, but had it not in my power to contradict it, till I had an opportunity of mentioning it to him, which I did at his next visit, and then received from him an account of the following incident, which he supposed must have given rise to the scandalous report. It was Mr. Howard’s constant practice to walk out with his child in the garden while the servants were at dinner. In one of these little excursions, with Master Howard in his hand (who was then about three years old), the father being much entertained with the innocent prattle of his son, they went on till they came to the root-house, or hermitage, in a retired part of the garden, with which the young gentleman was

* Brown, p. 62.

† Rev. S. Townsend.

familiarly acquainted, and were there for some time diverting one another. During this, the servant came in great haste to inform his master that a gentleman on horseback was at the door, and desired to speak with Mr. Howard immediately, upon business of some importance; and as he wished to be with him as soon as possible, he said to his son, 'Jack, be a good boy, and keep quiet, and I shall come very soon to you again;' and so locking the door to prevent the child from going out and prowling about the garden by himself, to the hazard of getting some mischief, he put the key in his pocket, and ran to the person in waiting, as fast as he could. The conversation between them lasted much longer than he expected, and put the thought of the child out of his mind. Upon the gentleman's departure he asked the servant where Jack was, and received for an answer, that he supposed him to be in the root-house where he had been left; and then instantly recollecting the incident, he flew to set him at liberty, and found him quietly asleep on the matting of the floor; and, when he was waked, could not perceive that the confinement had made any disagreeable impressions upon his mind.

"This was Mr. Howard's account of the trifling incident which was worked up, either by ignorance or malevolence, into so hideous a tale of cruelty: and I believe all who knew him will agree with me, that so sacred did he hold truth, that he would have lost his life rather than have told a known falsehood. And who can soberly think that a man of such exalted benevolence could possibly treat his only child, then as it were but an infant, with the deliberate severity that has been imputed to him?"

It was truly said of Howard by one most intimate with him*, "that he had a high idea, some of his friends might think too high, of the authority of a head of a family," and the following little inci-

* Rev. S. Palmer.

dents tend forcibly to illustrate this truth. Howard was, as we have observed, a devout Christian : as such the Bible taught him his creed ; Holy Scripture was the authority he recognised, and although by birth and education a Dissenter, he yet heartily united in the Liturgy of the Church. Now the language of these, as respects conjugal duties and the wife's subjection, would be thought decisive enough by most men : but lest the right of private judgment should be asserted to the detriment of his authority, he would take the precaution before marriage to have the true interpretation acknowledged ; accordingly, his friend tells us, that "before his union with Mrs. Howard an agreement was made, that to prevent all altercations about those little matters which he had observed to be the chief grounds of uneasiness in families, he should always decide. To this the amiable lady readily consented, and ever adhered. Nor did she ever regret the agreement, which she found to be attended with the happiest effects. Such was the opinion she entertained both of his wisdom and goodness, that she perfectly acquiesced in all that he did, and no lady ever appeared happier in the conjugal bonds." * The amiable submission of that partner — whom he had so much loved, and now so much lamented, that the day of her departure was observed by fasting, prayer, and preparation for their re-union — had confirmed that impression of his rightful authority, and given a reality to that supremacy.

* Brown, p. 55.

Of the continuance of these impressions another proof is recorded : “ I recollect,” writes a correspondent to the editor of a periodical of that day * — “ I recollect his telling me just before he set out on one of his foreign excursions, as he was walking with his son round some plantations he had been making at Cardington, and pointing out to him further improvements which he had in contemplation, ‘ These, however, Jack, (I think he called him), in case I should not come back, you will pursue or not, as you may think proper ; but remember, *this walk* was planted by *your mother*: and if you ever touch a twig of it, may *my blessing* never rest upon you.’ ”

Surely then in Howard’s character, as exhibited in the anecdotes which have been transcribed, we cannot fail to discern some measure of austerity claiming prompt and implicit submission, yet accompanied with very much affection in the exercise of his authority. As in the government of his estate and tenantry, the ancient patriarch was his exemplar with so much advantage, so in the arrangements of his house, and the regulation of his family, he conformed to the same pattern. But in this case it was following an example, and working out a principle, without having learned the fit adaptation to the change of time, or knowing how to suit his conduct to the condition of his subject. Hence the same tone of mind, and the same unbending tenets, which were discovered in harmless

* Gentleman’s Mag., April, 1790.

operation preliminary to the marriage tie, were too fatally developed in the education of his child.

Howard's condition was more lonesome at this time, and his house more dismal, because it would appear he had no female relative whose presence might soothe and console, and whose superintendence of his domestic affairs might prevent the constant remembrance of his loss. He himself and his wife had each a sister, but they had duties to perform, which forbade such acts of kindness towards a brother deserving of every effort of self-denial and love, which might conduce to or increase his comfort. This circumstance was still more to be deplored as respects his motherless infant: humanly speaking, had the case been different, some evils might have been averted. In the absence of those more suitable, Howard carefully selected one who is described as a "pious and excellent woman, and in every respect worthy the confidence reposed in her."* When about eighteen months had elapsed, and he had proved the fidelity and trustworthy character of his housekeeper and child's nurse, his health failing, a change from the scene of his sorrow and solicitude becoming necessary, he made a visit to Bath. There he endeavoured to divert his mind, in some measure, by his favourite study of meteorology, and thence he now sent his "Observations on the heat of the waters at Bath," which were published by the Royal Society in 1767.† He then

* Brown, p. 47.

† See page 22.

went to London, and spent a short time in the company of some literary friends; and, in the following spring, accompanied by his brother-in-law, he made a tour through Holland. We have no particulars of this excursion. The time spent in it was probably short; and Howard hastened to embrace his beloved child, and to resume the duties of his home, the direction of his schools, and the oversight of his estate at Cardington. It soon became evident to the anxious, ever-watchful parent, that, since he could not entirely educate his child himself, because the state of his own health required that he should occasionally leave him, it would be far better to confide him to the charge of some person in a station above that of a servant, and under whose care he might associate with other children of his own rank. But, as yet, he was too young, and certainly too much beloved, to be exposed to the conflicts of a boy's school; he was therefore placed with a person who kept a boarding-school for young ladies at Cheshunt. Here he was treated with every attention and kindness: and, as our Memoir will show, although absent in body, he was the ever present object of paternal solicitude and prayer.

CHAPTER IV.

HOWARD'S HEALTH FAILS. — PREPARATION FOR ANOTHER TOUR. — HIS SERVANT. — HIS JOURNAL. — REFLECTIONS AT MILAN. — AT TURIN. — CHRISTIAN CHARACTER. — SOURCE OF CHARITY. — LETTERS. — MEDITATIONS ON A SUNDAY EVENING. — REMARKS UPON THEM. — PIOUS REFLECTIONS AT LYONS. — AFFECTION FOR HIS CHILD. — DESCRIPTION OF HIS ROUTE. — ARRIVES AT ROME. — DESCRIPTIVE LETTER. — SOLEMN ACT OF SELF-DEDICATION. — DIARY AT ROME, NAPLES, HEIDELBERG, AND ROTTERDAM.

THE reader may have anticipated that the gloom of Cardington, no longer relieved by the innocent playfulness of his beloved boy, soon produced a depression on Howard's spirits, and so endangered his health as to compel his departure from an abode from which the chief objects of his love were gone. He determines to revisit Italy. But why is this country preferred? Was it because he had travelled there in the vigour of youth, before conjugal affections had brought their cares and entailed their bereavements; and he hoped, when reviewing those bright scenes, his thoughts would so entirely revert to former days as to obliterate all memory of the interval? No: for his last and favourite wife had bequeathed to him a legacy of mutual love; and, if he must be left behind, the *father* will choose for his own companion a living memorial of an object so endeared.

About two years before this time the surrounding neighbourhood had been searched by Howard for a lad to look after and amuse his little son. One was chosen from about five miles distance; he had proved himself worthy of the trust, and the child had become attached to him, and this readily commended him to his master's favour. This youth must be Howard's constant attendant on his travels. Friends were invited to accompany him, and their declining was no hindrance; but Thomason's* attendance seemed to be indispensable. Both his presence and his conversation would bring the absent boy before him. How much the yearnings of the father's heart, thus continually excited, might have prevented the recovery of health, need not be told. One wiser than Howard, who appoints better for us than we propose for ourselves, prevented such an arrangement.

The parents of the lad object to his leaving, and no entreaties on his own part, or persuasion on Howard's, can induce them to consent. He begs of his master to take him without their permission; but Howard was never likely to sanction filial disobedience for the sake of his own comfort; and he most reluctantly leaves him. In the words of that servant himself, whose rough journal shows that he had learned something of his master's regularity—"So we parted, and a very sorrowful parting it was."

* This servant travelled with Howard on subsequent tours and was with him when he died.

The residence at Cardington must now be closed. But a place associated in Howard's mind with so many events, pleasant as well as painful, must not become the habitation of strangers. If the beloved son's touching a twig of trees planted by the hand of a revered wife should entail the forfeiture of a father's blessing*, much less could he endure to risk that an alien-hand should rudely grasp a precious relic. If he can no longer preserve memorials from the hands of the spoiler himself, he will prevent self-reproach by providing some trusty protector. His household furnished one most suitable. The coachman, who entered Howard's service upon his master's marriage, and whose wife had been the maid of his mistress—both of whom cherished a veneration for her—was raised to the office of steward, and this pair became the occupants of an adjoining cottage, and the careful guards of the Cardington grounds.† Nor when the establishment was broken up were other servants uncared for; but we are told provision was made for every one of his old and faithful domestics.‡

These arrangements completed, Howard embarked alone, and, landing at Calais, went through France to Geneva, where he remained a few weeks, and thence proceeded to Milan. And here he began to make those reflections upon the scenes he visited, the feelings they excited, and the effects

* See p. 57.

† They lived upwards of thirty years in the service of Howard.

‡ Brown, p. 74.

produced, which happily have been preserved. These are written with so much simplicity, earnestness, and sincerity, that we are no longer left to infer the inward principles and motives of action from the acts themselves, or from the manner of their performance. Described in secrecy, and never intended for the sight of man, they show us Howard as only known to himself, and to that Omniscient Being under whose influence they were recorded, we trust, for our instruction. Although interesting to all, they will not be read by every one with equal advantage; for to appreciate their worth, and to profit by their wisdom, they must be perused under the teaching and operation of the same Spirit which directed and so powerfully wrought upon him who wrote them.

The very first of these pourtrays the most striking features in Howard's character. We may observe in it a deep sense of Divine goodness, a devout acknowledgment of it with lively gratitude, an ardent desire for God's glory, and that it may be evinced in the temporal as well as spiritual welfare of his fellow-men.

“1769, Nov. 26. — Having bought an Italian Almanack, I counted the Holy days in Italy — thirty-one besides the fifty-two Sabbaths. Oh! how is pure religion debased in these countries — preventing on so many days the providing for a family by work, and allowing every species of wickedness at little cabarets on the sabbath-days! How different to the primitive sacred sabbath! When men leave the holy word and set up their own inventions, God often leaves them — then how do they

fall ! Blessed be God who has called us Protestants out of darkness into his marvellous light — make me more sensible, more thankful, O my God ! How much reason have I to bless God for the Reformation ! How is religion debased into show and ceremony here in Italy ! Twenty Saints' days near together at Christmas ! — poor creatures, prevented from getting their daily bread, thousands idling and miserable in the streets."

He further describes some of the pompous and superstitious ceremonies he witnessed at Turin : very much that was calculated to excite the contempt and ridicule of the scoffer, and to call forth gratitude, combined with pity, from the Christian. These feelings, accompanied with prayer, prevailed in Howard's heart.

The following extract from his journal gives us the reasons which induced him to return to England without extending his tour, and much earlier than he proposed.

"Turin, 1769, Nov. 30.—My return without seeing the southern parts of Italy was after much deliberation. I feared a misimprovement of a talent spent for mere curiosity, at the loss of many Sabbaths ; and as many donations must be suspended for my pleasure, which would have been, as I hope, contrary to the general conduct of my life ; and which, on a retrospective view on a death-bed, would cause pain as unbecoming a *Disciple of Christ*, whose mind should be formed in my soul ; — these thoughts, with distance from my dear boy, determine me to check my curiosity. Oh ! why should vanity and folly, pictures and baubles, or even the stupendous mountains, beautiful hills, or rich valleys, which ere long will all be consumed, engross the thoughts of a candidate for an ever-

lasting kingdom ! A worm ever to crawl on earth, whom God has raised to the hope of glory, which ere long will be revealed to them who are washed and sanctified by faith in the blood of the divine Redeemer ! Look forward, oh my soul ! how low, how mean, how little is everything but what has a view to that glorious world of light, life, and love ! The preparation of the heart is of God. Prepare the heart, O God ! of thy unworthy creature, and unto thee be all the glory through the boundless ages of eternity !

Signed 'J. H.'

"This night my trembling soul almost longs to take its flight, to see and know the wonders of redeeming love — join the triumphant choir — sin and sorrow fled away — God my Redeemer all in all — oh ! happy spirits that are safe in those mansions !"

No longer is the motive of philanthropy doubtful, or the power which impelled to so much self-denial and vigorous benevolence obscurely declared. The mid-day sun is not more evidently the cause of light, and warmth, and fruitfulness, than that Christian love animated, induced, and constrained Howard to consecrate himself entirely to God's service, and to sacrifice life rather than that fellow-men should suffer, whom he might assist and relieve. We shall, as we proceed, admire and wonder at his patient endurance, his indefatigable energy and resolute perseverance in doing good, whatever temptations, difficulties, or personal dangers beset his course ; and it is well, at the commencement of his career, to discover the cause, as, in his progress, to observe its continued operation. This constant and ever-increasing charity was not derived from an abstract

creed, or a mere sentiment, or any general notion of religious duty.* Its excellence is traceable to its origin. It sprang from the knowledge of God, communicated by Himself; it flowed from a sense of His goodness, and through the influence of His grace. Socrates and Seneca were virtuous, and therefore benevolent. Man's philosophy might prompt their maxims, human prudence preserve their morals, the dread of their deities or the desire of fame might restrain from vice or stimulate their virtues. Howard was *holy*, and therefore *charitable*. God was the Author and Giver of his principles, the Guide of his practice, the Object of his ardent affection, and the Being whose favour alone was cared for. We see in the foregoing extracts, *why* every talent must be improved, and pleasure suspended, lest some donation to the poor should be prevented; it was because he was then, and would be thenceforth a "*Disciple of Christ*,—having the mind of Christ formed in his own soul."

With what propriety may the lines addressed to another philanthropist, whose life and whose death were contemporary with Howard's, be applied to him.†

* Dr. Aikin truly says that Howard's conduct was not influenced by any peculiarity which distinguished him from other Christians: but whilst we assent to this, we must protest against its being assignable to other than *Christian* principles. There is a looseness in the following passage which is little warranted by the language we have just quoted:—"The principle of *religious duty*, which is nearly the same in all systems, and differs rather in strength than in kind in different persons, is surely sufficient to account for all that he did and underwent in promoting the good of mankind." — *Aikin*, p. 236.

† Cowper's Address to Thornton in his Poem on Charity. Howard and Thornton both died in 1790.

"Such was thy charity ; no sudden start,
 After long sleep of passion in the heart,
 But steadfast principle, and in its kind
 Of close alliance with the Eternal mind ;
 Traced easily to its true source above,
 To Him whose works bespeak his nature love.
 Thy bounties all were CHRISTIAN, and I make
 This record of thee for the Gospel's sake ;
 That the incredulous themselves may see
 Its use and power exemplified in thee."

By the following letter, addressed to a friend at Bedford, we are enabled to trace Howard's route homewards :—

"Abbeville, Jan. 4. 1770.—Dear Sir—Having an opportunity, by an Italian gentleman with whom I have travelled, I thought a few lines would not be unacceptable. After I landed in France my first object was Geneva, where I spent some time before I went to Italy. The luxury and wickedness of the inhabitants would ever give a thinking mind pain ; amidst the richest country, abounding, as it does, with the noblest productions of human power and skill. I was seven days recrossing the Alps. The weather was very cold, the thermometer eleven degrees below the freezing point. The quick descent by sledges on the snow, and other particulars, may perhaps afford a little entertainment some winter's evening. I returned to Geneva. There are some exemplary persons ; yet the principles of one of the vilest men (Voltaire), with the corruptions of the French, who are within one mile of the city, has greatly debased its ancient purity and splendour. I spent about ten days at the dirty city of Paris. The streets are so narrow, and no footpaths, that there is no stirring out but in a coach ; and as to their hackney coaches, they are abominable. There were but few English at Paris. I dined with about twenty at our ambas-

sadors (Lord Harecourt). I am now on my route to Holland, a favourite country of mine; the only one, except our own, where propriety and elegance are mixed. Above all, I esteem it for religious liberty.

“Thus, dear Sir, I am travelling from one country to another: and I trust, through abundant grace, to a yet better. My knowledge of human nature should be enlarged by seeing more of the tempers, tastes, and dispositions of different people; but as to dignity and excellence, how is the gold become dross!

“I bless God I am well. I have a calm and easy flow of spirits. I am preserved and supported through not a little fatigue. My thoughts are often with you on the sabbath-day. I always loved my Cardington and Bedford friends, but I think distance makes me love them more. But I must conclude with my affectionate remembrance of them, and my ardent wish, desire, and prayer for your success in promoting the honour of God, and the love of our divine Redeemer.

I am truly yours,

JOHN HOWARD.”

The following extract from his journal describes his pious meditations at this period, in the evening of a sabbath-day:—

“Hague, 1770, Sunday Evening, 11th Feb. — I would record the goodness of God to the unworthiest of his creatures. For some days past an habitual serious frame — repenting my sin and folly — applying to the blood of Jesus Christ, — solemnly surrendering myself and babe to Him, — begging the conduct of His holy spirit. I hope for a more tender conscience, and a greater fear of offending God — a temper more abstracted from this world, more resigned to death or life, — thirsting for union and communion with God, as my Lord and my God. Oh the wonders of redeeming love! Some faint hope have I,

even I! through redeeming mercy, in the perfect righteousness—the full atoning sacrifice—that I shall ere long be made the monument of the rich, free grace and mercy of God, through the divine Redeemer. Oh! shout my soul, grace, grace, free, sovereign, rich, and unbounded grace! towards me, an ill-deserving, hell-deserving creature! but where sin has abounded I trust grace superabounds. Some hope I have, and what joy in that hope, that nothing shall separate my soul from the love of God in Christ Jesus. And my soul, as such a frame is thy delight, pray frequently and fervently to the Father of spirits to bless His word, in thy retired moments, to thy serious conduct in life.

“Let not, my soul, the interests of a moment engross thy thoughts, or be preferred to thy eternal interests. Look forward to that glory which will be revealed to those who are faithful to death. My soul walk thou with God! be faithful, hold on, hold out—and then—*what words can utter!*”
J. H.”

If the first glance at language, prompted by the strong emotions of a most energetic mind in a season of fervent devotion, should excite any other than a kindred feeling, it may not be unprofitable to any of us should self-examination reveal the cause. We have already seen enough of the character of Howard—of his knowledge, discretion, and chastened piety—to prevent the charge of fanaticism, and certainly a careful perusal of the above must forbid the imputation. There are signs in it of simplicity and sobriety, combined with enthusiasm not less holy than it was ardent. The train of ideas and the succession of thoughts expressed are precisely what we should expect in the retirement of such a Christian. The outward

conduct had been upright, and, whilst all others approved, there was perhaps, in this respect, little cause for self-reproach; but the heart had been now searched, and its sinfulness discovered: hence there was shame, self-abasement, and sorrow,—the greater because the goodness of God was contrasted with the ingratitude of His creature. The consciousness of guilt threatens to conceal the light of God's countenance, and the sense of His love is for a moment almost lost: then does the spirit pant after renewed intercourse with heaven; penitence, prayer, and the application by faith of Christ's precious blood, enliven his hope and enlarge his heart, and he becomes loud in praise. He magnifies the grace of which he feels the power, and the joy of present experience is accompanied by a desire that it may never be interrupted. He longs for more freedom from the world's distractions, though not from its duties; for he devotes himself afresh to God; and through the riches of His grace, and the redemption of Christ, he looks forward with "joy unspeakable," to the "glory hereafter to be revealed."

The conclusion of the above extract is remarkably characteristic. Prudence forms part of piety. Howard was always circumspect, never presumptuous. This is seen in his religion and in his whole life. When the fervour of his soul had been poured forth in prayer and praise, and a bright prospect filled his heart with gladness, no rhapsody upon that future glory escapes his lips — "And then,

what words can utter!" — that broken sentence marks the man. It reminds us too of one whom he resembled in other respects besides his holy caution. One whose journeyings were frequent, whose labours abundant, who encountered perils, and amidst all difficulties persevered in duty; and by whom, when the foresight of paradise was granted him, a description of its glory was not attempted. The learning and zeal of St. Paul*, and the ardour of affection towards God and man in Howard, have called forth expressions from both, which some have pronounced contrary to reason, because above their comprehension. Neither will be thought to have been "beside himself" by any, who, as they follow the examples of holiness, may in proportion share the same peace and joy, and attain to a like hope of glory.

Howard was mistaken in supposing that he had sufficiently recruited his strength to allow him to return. His constitution was enfeebled, and it appears that the excitement produced by the very anticipation of delight at again seeing his beloved child, and of melancholy reminiscences, when he should reach Cardington, so affected him that he was compelled to abandon his purpose, and felt obliged to act upon his original intention, and revisit Italy. Some extracts from his journal will give an account of his route on leaving Holland.

"When I left Holland the beginning of March, I went

* 2 Cor. ch. xi. and xii.

to Paris, and travelled through Champagne and Burgundy, to Lyons on the 1st of April, the best view of which city is from a monastery, on a hill to the south-west of the town."

"1770, Lyons, April 4th. — Through repeated instances of the unwearied mercy and goodness of God, I am preserved hitherto in health and safety! Blessed be the name of the Lord! endeavour, oh my soul! to cultivate and maintain a thankful, serious, humble, and resigned frame and temper of mind. May it be thy chief desire that the honour of God, the spread of the Redeemer's name and gospel may be promoted! Oh! consider the everlasting worth of spiritual and divine enjoyments — then thou wilt see the vanity and nothingness of worldly pleasures! Remember, oh my soul! St. Paul, who was determined to know nothing in comparison of Jesus Christ and him crucified. A tenderness of conscience I would ever cultivate — no step would I take without acknowledging God. I hope my present journey, again into Italy, is no way wrong; I should rejoice if in any respect I could bring the least improvement to my own country. But oh my soul! stand in awe and sin not! Daily, fervently pray for restraining grace; remember if thou desirest the death of the righteous, and thy latter end like his, thy life must be righteous also. In a little while thy course will be run, thy sands finished:—*a parting farewell with my ever dear boy*, and then, my soul shall be weighed in the balance — wanting, wanting! but oh! the glorious hope of an interest in the blood and righteousness of my Redeemer and my God! In the most solemn manner I commit my spirit into Thy hand, O Lord God of my salvation! My hope in time, my trust through eternity.

JOHN HOWARD."

Here, and throughout these extracts, we observe a holy vigilance over his thoughts, words, and wishes: the heart is kept with all diligence; there is a constant subjection of the inclinations and

affections to the governance and guidance of Him whose will was earnestly inquired for, and, if ascertained, most strictly followed. And this steadfast dependence upon God, was the secret of his power. It preserved him from many an enterprise which the energy of his own mind might have prompted, and the issue of which might have been disastrous; and inspired him with a dauntless resolution and superhuman courage, when obstacles were to be overcome and an evident duty to be performed.

Nor can we overlook the strong and beautiful expression of paternal tenderness which occurs even in the midst of his pious ejaculations, of his solemn dedication of himself to God; and, when, through "the blood and righteousness" of his Redeemer, the hope of a glorious inheritance most filled his soul with rapture — even then, as though he felt the "welfare" of his "ever dear child" was essential to his peace on earth, his comfort in death, and the perfection of his future joy — that chief object of earthly affection is present to his thoughts, and, if possible, adds fervour to his prayers. Charity would hope that the enemies of Howard, who charged him with the want of humanity towards that son, had never heard of the records we have cited.

We have the following short note of Howard's route on quitting Lyons:—

"I then descended the Rhone to Avignon, the great beauty of which place is its walks: from thence I went to Aix — thence to Marseilles, whose course is elegant, and

its harbour commodious: the road to Toulon is romantic and pleasant. I saw many of our flowering shrubs in the hedges, and in most gardens oranges and lemons. From Toulon I travelled to Antibes — from thence I sailed in a felucca to Nice and Monanco. I then travelled over the mountains to Genoa: I went to Pisa, remarkable for its elegant church, the gates of which were brought from Jerusalem: from thence I went to Leghorn and Florence; from Florence by a pleasant, though depopulated road to Rome, where there are many monuments to humble the pride of man, and show how luxury and wickedness will sink a nation.”

A letter addressed to a friend*, about the same time, gives further interesting details of his journey:—

“Rome, May 22. 1770.—Dear Sir,—With great pleasure I received your obliging letter as I passed through Flanders. The esteem you and some of my friends have for me, humbles me, and causes me to think what I ought to be. How mean and defective I am! Yet, amidst all, a sincere love I hope I have to all who bear the impress of our Divine Master.

“Since I left Holland, and through all the southern part of France, and over the Apennine mountains into Italy, I travelled not a mile with any of our countrymen. Those mountains are three or four days in passing: for many, many miles there is hardly a three foot road, with precipices into the sea, I should guess, three times the height of St. Paul’s; but the mules are so surefooted there is nothing to fear, though the road is also very bad. Through the mercy and goodness of God I travel pleasantly on. I have an easy, calm flow of spirits. A little tea equipage I carry with me, with which I regale, and little regard if I have nothing else.

* The Rev. Joshua Symonds.

“Florence being the seat of the arts, I visited the famous gallery many days, from whence I travelled to this renowned city. The amazing ruins of temples, palaces, aqueducts, &c. gives one some faint idea of grandeur; but all is now comparatively a desert: the description of them, as also of St. Peter’s church and the Vatican, I must defer till I have the pleasure of seeing you. The pope passed very close by me yesterday; he waived his hand to bless me. I bowed; but not kneeling, some of the cardinals were displeased. But I never can or will bow down to any human creature or invention, as I should tremble at the thought of the adoration I have seen to him, and to the wafer. My temper is too open for this country, yet an important piece of news of this court (expuls—n of the J—s—ites), that I now know, I durst not commit to writing. That cruellest of all inventions, the Inquisition, stops all mouths.

“I set out to-morrow for Naples. As I return to see the great procession of the 15th of June, I intend staying about a fortnight. Afterwards I am bound to Loretto, Ancona, Bologna, and Venice; at which last place it will be a great pleasure to receive a line from you. My thoughts are often with my Bedford friends. I beg to be remembered to them; and as they and I know it is the divine presence and favour that makes every place happy and comfortable, I return my most grateful acknowledgments for any interest I have had in their sacred moments.

“Thus, my dear friend, am I travelling over desolate places of ancient grandeur, and feel it overpower that selfish and vain principle that is rooted in my constitution, and humble the pride of one’s heart! And when at other times I view in statues, paintings, architecture, &c. the utmost stretch of human skill, how should one’s thoughts be raised to that glorious world, that heavenly city, the city of the living God, where sin, sorrow, and every imperfection will be done away! Oh, the free, sovereign and unbounded grace of our Lord Jesus Christ! how

thankful should we Protestants be for this glorious gospel which we have in our hands! The happiness we are exulting in, millions in this country are denied. But I must conclude. I remain, with much esteem, dear Sir, yours, &c.

J. HOWARD."

A document possessing much interest was drawn up by Howard, when he reached Naples. For reasons which have appeared, he felt and lamented that he could not enjoy the privileges of public worship, or profit by the ordinances of a Christian church. When in England we have observed that, although a dissenter, he was constant in his attendance once, at least, on a Sunday, at his parish church; but now he was in a country where the religion professed was exhibited in a form most repugnant to his feelings. Deprived then of outward means of grace, he is most diligent in private devotion; and to promote the steadfastness of his faith, and ensure its effects, he adopts a plan which has been common amongst the most exemplary Christians. By a solemn covenant he dedicated himself—his powers of mind and body, and all his possessions—to the service of God.*

* Howard's biographer (Brown, p. 93.) describes him as following the example of the earlier Nonconformists in this particular; but it is a practice which has been equally commended and pursued by Christians in our own and other churches. Bishop Jer. Taylor provides a suitable form for those who may require it. "O my God, my goods are nothing unto thee: I will be thy servant all the days of my life, and remember thy mercies and my present purposes, and live more to God's glory, and with a stricter duty. And do thou please to accept this vow as an instance of my importunity, and the greatness of my deeds; and be thou graciously moved to pity and deliver me! Amen.

* * * * *

“Naples, May 27. 1770. — When I left Italy last year, it then appeared most prudent and proper. My return, I hope, is under the best direction, — not presumptuous, through being left to the folly of a foolish heart. Not having the strongest spirits or constitution, my continuing long in Holland or any place depresses me; so I thought returning would be no uneasiness on the review, as sinful and vain diversions are not my object, but the honour and glory of God my highest ambition. Did I now see it wrong as being the cause of pride, I would go back. I am deeply sensible it is the presence of God that makes the happiness of every place. Oh my soul! keep close to Him in the light of redeeming love, and amidst the snares thou art particularly exposed to in a country of such wickedness and folly. May I stand in awe and sin not — commune with mine own heart — see what progress is made in my *religious* journey! Oh my soul! art thou nearer the heavenly Canaan? the vital flame burning clearer and clearer; or are the concerns of a moment engrossing thee? Stop! remember thou art a candidate for eternity — daily, fervently pray for wisdom — lift up thine eyes to the Rock of Ages, and then look down on the glory of this world. A little while and thy journey will be ended; be thou faithful unto death. Duty is thine, though the power is God’s. Pray to Him to give thee a heart to hate sin more, uniting thy heart in his fear. Oh! magnify the Lord my soul! and my spirit rejoice in God my Saviour! His free grace; unbounded mercy; love unparalleled; goodness unlimited! and oh! this mercy, this love, this goodness exerted for me. Lord God, why for me! When I consider and look into my heart, I doubt, I tremble! such a vile creature — sin, folly, and imperfection in every action! Oh dreadful thought, a body of sin and

“Miserable man that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of sin?

“Thou shalt answer for me, O Lord my God. Thou that prayest for me, shalt be my judge.” — *Holy Living*, chap. iv.

death I carry about me, ever ready to depart from God, and, with all the dreadful catalogue of sins committed, my heart faints within me, and almost despairs; but yet, oh my soul! why art thou cast down? why art thou disquieted? Hope in God! his free grace in Jesus Christ! Lord, I believe, help my unbelief! shall I limit the grace of God? can I fathom his goodness? Here on his sacred day, I once more in the dust before the Eternal God, acknowledge my sins, heinous and aggravated in his sight. I would have the deepest sorrow and contrition of heart, and cast my guilty and polluted soul on thy sovereign mercy in the Redeemer! O compassionate and divine Redeemer, save me from the dreadful guilt and power of sin, and accept of my solemn and free, and I trust unre-served, full surrender of my soul, my spirit, *my dear child, all I am and have*, into thy hands, — unworthy of thy acceptance, yet, O Lord God of mercy! spurn me not from thy presence — accept of me, vile as I am — I hope a repenting, returning prodigal: I glory in my choice, acknowledge my obligations as a servant of the most high God. And now may the eternal God be my refuge, and thou, oh my soul! faithful to that God that will never leave nor forsake thee.

“ Thus, O my Lord and my God, is even a worm humbly bold to covenant with Thee! do Thou ratify and confirm it, and make me the everlasting monument of Thy unbounded mercy. Amen, Amen, Amen. Glory to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen.

“ Hoping my heart deceives me not, and trusting in his mercy for restraining and preventing grace, though rejoicing in returning what I have received of him into his hands, yet with fear and trembling I sign my unworthy name. JOHN HOWARD. Naples, May 27. 1770.

“ N. B. This solemn covenant renewed at Moscow, Sept. 27. 1789.”

During his stay at Naples, he indulged his taste for philosophical investigation to some extent, and made the observations on the heat of the ground on Mount Vesuvius, to which reference has been made. He returned to Rome, where he desired to witness the pageantry of a festival—not to gratify an idle curiosity, but to derive spiritual advantage—to foster his gratitude, both on account of preservation from error, and for his perception of truth.

“Rome, June 17. 1770. — Almighty God my preserver, may I be carried safely to my native country and friends, and see the face of my dear boy in peace! Remember then, oh my soul, to cultivate a more serious, humble, thankful, and resigned temper of mind! As thou hast seen more of the world by travelling than others, more of the happiness of being born in a Protestant country, and the dreadful abuse of holy sabbaths, so may thy walk, thy sabbaths, thy conversation be more becoming of the holy gospel! Let not pride and vanity fill up so much of thy thoughts; learn the vanity and folly of all earthly grandeur; endeavour to be a wiser and better man, when thou returnest! Remember many eyes will be upon thee, and above all, the eye of that God before whom thou wilt shortly appear! O Lord God, put thy fear into my heart, and may I never depart from Thee!”

The next entry in his journal is dated —

“Heidelberg, Sunday Evening, July 29. 1770.—Through the goodness of my unwearied Father and God, I am still a monument of his unbounded mercy. Oh my soul, record his goodness! but what are the returns for all this mercy and goodness? How should it have led thee to a life of exemplary piety and holiness! but alas! how low art

thou! My God, I take shame to myself; lie low before thee; and cry earnestly for pardon, mercy, and forgiveness for Christ's sake. Would to God I had wisdom given me to redeem the time lost, to live a life suitable to the mercies I am receiving; and if spared to return, may I acknowledge the goodness of God, both public and private? May I look into mine own heart, and beg of God to show me the evil of it; and if I bring home a better temper and am a wiser man, then shall I have cause to rejoice that the great end of travelling has been answered.

“Renewed — Moscow, Sept. 27. 1789.”

And in the following we have Howard's pious reflections on the last Sunday previous to reaching his native land:—

“Rotterdam, Sunday Evening, Sept. 2. 1770. — This morning, on the review of the temper of my mind, how humbled I ought to be before God — an evil and wicked heart, ever ready to depart from him, starting aside like a deceitful bow; mourning yet trusting in my Lord and my God! When in calm retirement I hope I am one step forward in my Christian journey; yet alas! in company, how many steps backward! God give me wisdom — may mercy and goodness compass my paths; yet how insensible! Oh! hard and obdurate heart! with such a heart, how watchful, how careful, how earnest at the throne of Grace ought I to be, that as Jesus Christ died for such as I am, I may have an interest in the glorious salvation he has wrought out. On the review of the temper of my mind, on probably the last Sabbath before I return to my native country, I desire with profound veneration to bless and praise God for his merciful preservation of me in my long journey; no danger, no accident has befallen me, but I am among the living: I trust ever to praise Him; and as to my soul, with all its weakness and folly, I have some

hope it has not lost ground this year of travelling. Now I am very desirous of returning with a right spirit, not only wiser, but better; a cheerful humility; a more general love and benevolence to my fellow creatures; watchful of my thoughts, my words, my actions; resigned to the will of God, that I may walk with God, and lead a more useful and honourable life in this world."

CHAPTER V.

DEPRESSED STATE OF MIND.—VISIT TO SOUTHAMPTON, TO BRISTOL.—CONTINUED ILLNESS.—RETURN TO CARDINGTON.—OCCUPATIONS AND CHARITIES.—PRESERVATION FROM AN ASSASSIN.—GUERNSEY AND JERSEY VISITED.—APPOINTED SHERIFF OF BEDFORDSHIRE.—BEDFORD GAOL INSPECTED.—STATE OF PRISONS IN THE LAST CENTURY.—VICE AND CRUELTY IN THE FLEET.—REASONS FOR VISITING PRISONS.—NOTICES OF THE GAOLS OF HUNTINGDON, CAMBRIDGE, NORTHAMPTON, NOTTINGHAM, DERBY, STAFFORD, LICHFIELD, WARWICK, WORCESTER, AND GLOUCESTER.—MR. RAIKES.—SIR G. O. PAUL QUOTED.—GAOL FEVER.—OXFORD AND AYLESBURY GAOLS.—HOWARD RETURNS TO CARDINGTON.—ANOTHER EXCURSION.—NOTES OF GAOLS AT HERTFORD, READING, SALISBURY, WINCHESTER, HORSHAM, AND GUILDFORD.—SPENDS VACATION WITH HIS SON.—VISITS GAOLS OF OAKHAM, YORK, LINCOLN, ELY, NORWICH, IPSWICH, COLCHESTER, EXETER, LAUNCESTON, ILCHESTER, HEREFORD, AND MONMOUTH.—BILL FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF GAOLERS' FEES.—HOWARD EXAMINED BEFORE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—RECEIVES THE THANKS OF THE HOUSE.

VERY soon after his arrival in England, Howard proceeded to Cardington; his heart glowing with gratitude for preservation and past mercies; resolved, as the close of our last chapter shows, to submit himself entirely to God's will, and prepared zealously to pursue those plans of benevolence which were before in operation. But though he acquiesced in the wisdom of painful dispensations, and felt it was good to have been afflicted, still it was in the resignation of renewed grief. Notwithstanding the fervour of Howard's religious feelings,

there was a calmness of spirit very little ruffled by the scenes and occurrences which commonly excite the passions, and have a tendency to efface the deepest furrows left by the departure of those beloved: no current of fresh circumstances, nor even the change of countries, had so diverted his thoughts into another channel that the return to Cardington did not recall past sorrows and prevent the cheerfulness his health required. The depression soon produced sickness, and, though reluctantly, his home must again be left.

The subject of our memoir at this time visited Southampton. There he became acquainted with the Rev. W. Kingsbury, who was thenceforth one of his most intimate friends. That friendship was first occasioned by a request for the prayers of the congregation under his charge—Howard, himself, being too ill to join them in public worship. He was too wise to undervalue Christian intercession, and too pious to disregard the admonitions of Holy Scripture on this subject.

From Southampton, he went to Ireland; then through a part of Wales, and thence crossed to Bristol Hot-wells, where, on the day after his arrival, he was attacked with gout so severely, that he was confined to his chamber for six months. At this time, according to the statement of his servant Thomasson—who, since his return from the continent, had become his constant attendant—he determined to abstain altogether from wine or other alcoholic beverages, believing them to be in-

jurious to his health ; and this resolution he is said never to have broken.

Having in some measure recovered his strength, Howard returned to Cardington, where he continued in ill health for several months, mournful but not murmuring ; his soul sustained by confidence in the goodness of Him who had caused him to grieve, and his mind composed whilst occupied in devising plans for future good. At length, when convalescent, though still weak, his own spirit was revived by personal efforts to promote the comfort of others. At this time he would go and hold friendly converse with his tenants ; sit for a while in the peaceful cottages he had provided—always carrying pence in his pockets for the children, and something more for their parents. The sick and distressed were the especial objects of his care ; he could now further sympathise with them, and had learned by his own sufferings how to console. His very manner of bestowing his gifts had much to enhance their value. The guinea to the old gardener, for taking away his own “ dividend ” of former bounty, was the pleasing earnest of plans now pursued. None served Howard for nought, even when their own advantage was the only object of that service. Thus the milk from his dairy, which, excepting the little consumed in his own house, was the property of the poor, must be sent round to them ; lest, in fetching it, a waste of time should lessen its worth ; or they must not come for it themselves without a recompense. His charity

had been taught by Him who said that it was "more blessed to give than to receive;" and for the very experience of that truth he was willing to prove himself grateful. The tranquillity of his life, and his quiet endeavours to do good, promoted his bodily health, while the burden of his sorrow was also relieved by the activity of his benevolence. What wonder when it could be said of him—"he hardly ever took one of his daily rides in the neighbourhood without enjoying the delightful satisfaction on his return, that he had contributed to the relief, the welfare, or the consolation of a fellow-creature. Whilst living in retirement, it was his meat and drink to make his neighbours happy." *

As respects the more public charities of Howard at this period, I quote the testimony of Dr. Aikin:—

"In every way in which a man, thoroughly disposed to do good with the means Providence has bestowed upon him, can exercise his liberality, Mr. Howard stood among the foremost. He was not only a subscriber to various public schemes of benevolence, but his private charities were largely diffused, and remarkably well directed. It was, indeed, only to his particular confidants and coadjutors that many of these were ever known; but they render him the most ample testimony in this respect." †

A visitor at Cardington, about this time, has left us an imperfect but pleasing account of Howard, as seen in his own house:—

"He was not disposed to talk much; he sat but a short time at table, and was in motion during the whole

* Rev. S. Palmer.

† Dr. Aikin, p. 36.

day. On the Sabbath he ate little or no dinner, and spent the interval between divine services in a private room, alone. He had prayers in his family every morning and evening. He was very abstemious, lived chiefly upon vegetables, and drank no wine or spirits. He hated praise; and when his works of benevolence were once mentioned, he spoke of them slightly, as a 'whim of his,' and immediately changed the subject." *

That Howard should have been admired, revered, and loved, was so reasonable, and that to which he had so much right, that we regard such feelings towards him as the necessary consequence of his claims. To some it may appear almost impossible that a contrary disposition could disgrace the heart of the most malignant. But virtue itself may provoke malevolence. The Christian has learned, both from the teaching of his Lord and the treatment He met with, that to go about doing good, and so to follow His example, may call forth enmity, and be the occasion of violence. Even Howard further verifies the lesson. It was at this time his constant practice, on the Sunday, to walk alone to and from Bedford, where he attended divine service; and his biographer tells us that "an idle and dissolute wretch, whom he had often, but in vain, reproved for his vices, determined to avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded for executing his diabolical purpose of way-laying and murdering him." † But, as in the case of the saint and active servant, whom we have already said Howard re-

* Rev. J. Townsend.

† Brown, p. 118.

sembled, the lying in wait was frustrated, because God's purposes of mercy, through him, were not completed; so the life of our philanthropist must be preserved, and the vile attempt defeated, because the great work of compassion for which he was now prepared had not been performed. Wisely, therefore, did the preacher afterward, say—“*Providence* remarkably interposed to preserve so valuable a life, by inclining him that morning to go on horseback a different road.” *

In 1772, Howard visited Guernsey and Jersey, and the smaller islands of the Channel. He returned to London, and there spent part of the winter of that year, but the greater portion of it he passed in retirement at Cardington.

But his love of seclusion must no longer be indulged. He had now been long enough under a discipline which taught him how to feel for the afflicted, and how most effectually to relieve distress; and his benevolence must be no longer limited to the exertions of private life. Never was a Christian less ostentatious in his charity; but notwithstanding the obscurity of his retreat, it shone with a brightness which forbade concealment; and whilst its cheering rays were directed towards the humble and distressed, they were discerned and admired by persons whose rank was most exalted. In 1773 Howard was nominated to the shrievalty of Bedfordshire. Various conjectures have been formed as to the immediate cause of his

* Funeral Sermon by Rev. S. Palmer.

appointment; but they are so little founded upon probable feelings or ascertained facts, that I do not describe them. It is our privilege to observe the wisdom and goodness of Divine Providence in thus opening a way for the public exercise of that benevolence which was so ready to expand in proportion to the enlargement of its sphere. As a conscientious Dissenter from the discipline of the Church of England, though uniting in her public services, and consenting to all her most important doctrines, that entire conformity and Christian membership which is implied in receiving the Holy Communion according to her ministration — an act of fellowship commonly required in Howard's day of those chosen to legislate or to administer the law — was in his case dispensed with. This is no place for discussing either the wisdom of the enactment, or the propriety of its relaxation. Of the advantages which resulted from the latter, in this particular case, there can be no doubt, and never had any one stronger claims to the indulgence. By accepting the office, he rendered himself liable to a severe penalty; but none would prosecute, and it never was imposed. On this subject I transcribe the observations of his friend Dr. Aikin : —

“ It was perfectly suitable to Mr. Howard's character to make option of *the office with the hazard*; for as, on the one hand, no consideration on earth could have induced him to violate his religious principles: so, on the other, his active disposition, and zeal for the public good, strongly impelled him to assume a station in which those

qualities might have free scope for exertion; and as to personal hazard, *that* was never an obstacle in his way. There may be casuists who will condemn this choice, and regard it as a serious offence against the laws of his country, to have taken upon him an office without complying with its preliminary conditions. But, I conceive, the sincere philanthropist will rather make a different reflection, and feel a shock in thinking, that, had Mr. Howard been influenced by those apprehensions which would have operated upon most men, he would have been excluded from that situation, which gave occasion to all those services which he rendered to humanity in his own country, and throughout Europe." *

In Howard's day the office of High Sheriff was regarded as one conferring dignity rather than obliging to the performance of duty. It gave a precedency in the public assemblies, and various entertainments in the county, and if gentlemanly conduct was accompanied by a liberal expenditure, the requirements of the office, so far as the Sheriff himself was concerned, were thought to have been fulfilled. Whatever might call for investigation, or occasion trouble, it was presumed the under Sheriff would satisfactorily arrange. But with Howard the possession of power, and the opportunity for its exercise, were ever attended by a sense of his responsibility, and increased diligence in duty. Hence, although he wisely maintained the dignity of his position, neither dispensing with the insignia of authority, nor exciting ridicule by any extravagant parade — yet no sooner was he invested with that

* Dr. Aikin, pp. 50, 51.

authority, than, with his accustomed energy, he sought how he might best use it with advantage. An opportunity was immediately presented. The county gaol was under his jurisdiction. There philanthropy might find ample scope for pious effort, and thither it was at once directed. We cannot suppose this to have been the first time Howard had passed through that forbidding gateway, or seen the greater gloom within those dismal walls. Every scene of sorrow attracted him; and there were especial causes to visit this. He had found it good occasionally thus to call forth gratitude for preservation when himself imprisoned, and for deliverance so speedily vouchsafed. There sympathy had found its appropriate sphere, and many a wretched creature proved its power. There too, in this very gaol of Bedford, though long before, Bunyan composed his allegory, and whilst himself confined and fettered, taught many a captive soul how to obtain its freedom from a still more cruel bondage, and traced the "Pilgrim's Progress" from sin and wretchedness and threatened vengeance, to holiness and cheering hope, and Heaven at last. Any one of these circumstances had power enough to draw Howard's footsteps to this prison; but when feelings of reverence, sympathy, and compassion were all associated with such a place, frequent, we may be sure, had been his visits. But hitherto he could only gain access to this gaol by favour, and show compassion when permitted. Now, by virtue of his office, he could demand admission and do

good as he desired. He therefore claimed his prerogative, and with the ardour of one who valued the privilege, he began to rectify grievous abuses, and to enforce good regulations. Although the writer has in another publication described the condition of the gaols in this country during the last century, it may be interesting to the reader, and serve to show the necessity which had long existed for Howard's investigation and philanthropic efforts, if a short statement concerning those prisons, with one or two illustrations, be here inserted. The earliest authentic records which are known on this subject have been recently discovered amongst the minutes of the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. From those documents* we learn, that in 1701-2, a committee of some members of that society was formed for visiting Newgate and other prisons. A report was subsequently drawn up by Dr. Bray, who stated that they "had visited the prisons and would go thither again; and that being affected with the sight of so many miserable objects of pity, they had thought fit to distribute some monies amongst them." He also wrote an essay, enforcing the better regulation of Newgate and other prisons, in which he described the mismanagement, cruelty, and crime which prevailed in them; and concluded with the following earnest appeal: —

"It is very much hoped that the right hon. the lord mayor and the sheriffs of the city of London will take this

* See Appendix, B.

whole matter into their special consideration ; considering that the reformation of prisons may much contribute to the reformation of the public. For prisons are one great part of our correction for criminals, and, if well managed, may prove effectual to their amendment : whereas, for want of discipline, it now generally happens that prisoners are made much worse by them ; and if an innocent person be committed by misfortune or mistake, he is commonly corrupted and turns profligate.”

Humanity must have overlooked our prisons during the next quarter of a century, or the dominant cruelty defied correction, for we find in 1729, when the parliamentary committee, whose labours the poet Thomson has so justly celebrated, gave the result of its inquiries, the most atrocious practices were common even in our metropolitan prisons. I have in my hand the “report relating to the Fleet Prison,” from which I extract the following, and it may be read as descriptive of our gaols, and their keepers in general, at that time. We may in some measure estimate the extortion which was permitted, from one of the first circumstances reported : —

“ That John Huggins, growing in years, and willing to retire from business, and his son not caring to take upon him so troublesome an office, he hath for several years been engaged in continual negotiations about the disposal of the said office, and in August last concluded a final treaty with Thomas Bambridge and Dougal Cuthbert, Esqs. ; and for 5000*l.* to be paid unto him, obliged himself to surrender the said patent for his and his son’s life, and procure a new patent for the said Bambridge and Cuthbert, which the said Huggins did accordingly obtain.”

How basely absurd were many of the exactions whereby compensation for this immense sum — paid for only a life-interest, — was obtained, may be inferred from one which is mentioned in a Table of Fees : —

“To the tipstaff for being taken into custody, 1*l.* 10*s.*”

As to the state of the prison, the report says —

“That the lion’s den and women’s ward, which contain about eighteen persons, are very noisome, and in very ill repair.

“That in some rooms persons who are sick of different distempers are obliged to lie together, or on the floor; one in particular had the small-pox, and two women were ordered to lie with her; and they pay 2*s.* 10*d.* each per week for such lodging.”

With reference to the treatment of the prisoners it is reported —

“That every prisoner pays at his entrance into the house of the tipstaff 6*s.* towards a bowl of punch.”

And so lawless were those ruthless extortioners, that even the attempt to relieve their poor victims was perilous, for we further read —

“That Thomas Hogg, passing by the door of that prison, stopped to give charity to the prisoners at the grate, and being seen by James Barnes (one of the said Bambridge’s agents and accomplices) the said Barnes seized and forced him into Corbett’s sponging-house, where he hath been detained ever since, (now upwards of nine months) without any cause or legal authority whatsoever.”

The Report proceeds with a description of the

atrocities which were perpetrated; and lest the statement should be incredible unless given in the words of the document itself, I transcribe it literally —

“ And notwithstanding the payment of such large fees, in order to extort further sums from the unfortunate prisoners, the said Bambridge unjustly pretends he has a right as warden to exercise an unlimited power of changing prisoners from room to room; of turning them into the common side, though they have paid the master’s side fee; and inflicting arbitrary punishment by locking them down in unwholesome dungeons, and loading them with torturing irons, some instances of which follow, viz.

“ Jacob Mendez Solas, a Portuguese, was, as far as it appeared to the committee, one of the first prisoners for debt that ever was loaded with irons in the Fleet. The said Bambridge one day called him into the gate-house of the prison, called the lodge, where he caused him to be seized, fettered, and carried to Corbett’s, the sponging-house, and there kept for upwards of a week, and when brought back into the prison, Bambridge caused him to be turned into the dungeon, called the strong room of the master’s side.

“ This place is a vault like those in which the dead are interred, and wherein the bodies of persons dying in the said prison are usually deposited, till the coroner’s inquest hath passed upon them; it has no chimney nor fire-place, nor any light but what comes over the door, or through a hole of about eight inches square. It is neither paved nor boarded; and the rough bricks appear both on the sides and top, being neither wainscoted nor plastered: what adds to the dampness and stench of the place is, its being built over the common sewer, and adjoining to the sink, and where all the nastiness of the prison is cast. In this miserable place the poor wretch was kept by the said Bambridge, manacled, and shackled for near two months.

At length, on receiving five guineas from a friend of Solas's, Bambridge released the prisoner from his cruel confinement. But though his chains were taken off, his terror still remained, and the unhappy man was prevailed upon by that terror, not only to labour gratis for the said Bambridge, but to swear also at random all that he hath required of him. And the committee themselves saw an instance of the deep impression his sufferings had made upon him; for on his surmising, from something said, that Bambridge was to return again, as warden of the Fleet, he fainted, and the blood started out of his mouth and nose.

“ Captain John Mackpheadris, who was bred a merchant, is another melancholy instance of the cruel use the said Bambridge hath made of his assumed authority. Mackpheadris was a considerable trader, and in a very flourishing condition until the year 1720, when being bound for large sums to the crown, for a person afterwards ruined by the misfortunes of that year, he was undone. In June 1727 he was prisoner in the Fleet, and although he had before paid his commitment-fee, the like fee was extorted from him a second time; and he having furnished a room, Bambridge demanded an extravagant price for it, which he refused to pay; and urged, that it was unlawful for the warden to demand extravagant rents, and offered to pay what was legally due: notwithstanding which, the said Bambridge, assisted by the said James Barnes and other accomplices, broke open his room, and took away several things of great value, amongst others, the king's extent in aid of the prisoner (which was to have been returned in a few days, in order to procure the debt to the crown, and the prisoner's enlargement) which Bambridge still detains. Not content with this, Bambridge locked the prisoner out of his room, and forced him to lie in the open yard, called the Bare. He sat quietly under his wrongs, and getting some poor materials, built a little hut to protect himself, as well as he could, from the injuries of the weather. The

said Bambridge seeing his unconcernedness, said, ‘D—— him! he is easy. I will put him into the strong room before to-morrow;’ and ordered Barnes to pull down his little hut, which was done accordingly. The poor prisoner, being in an ill state of health, and the night rainy, was put to great distress. Some time after this he was (about eleven o’clock at night) assaulted by Bambridge, with several other persons his accomplices, in a violent manner; and Bambridge, though the prisoner was unarmed, attacked him with his sword, but by good fortune was prevented from killing him; and several other prisoners coming out upon the noise, they carried Mackpheadris for safety into another gentleman’s room; soon after which Bambridge, coming with one Savage and several others, broke open the door, and Bambridge strove with his sword to kill the prisoner; but he again got away, and hid himself in another room. Next morning the said Bambridge entered the prison with a detachment of soldiers, and ordered the prisoner to be dragged to the lodge, and ironed with great irons; on which he desiring to know for what cause, and by what authority he was to be so cruelly used; Bambridge replied, it was by his own authority, and —— him, he would do it, and have his life. The prisoner desired he might be carried before a magistrate, that he might know his crime before he was punished; but Bambridge refused, and put irons on his legs which were too little, so that in forcing them on, his legs were like to have been broken; and the torture was impossible to be endured; upon which the prisoner complaining of the grievous pain and straitness of the irons, Bambridge answered, that he did it on purpose to torture him; on which the prisoner replying, that by the law of England no man ought to be tortured; Bambridge declared, that he would do it first, and answer for it afterwards; and caused him to be dragged away to the dungeon, where he lay without a bed, loaded with irons so closely riveted, that they kept him in continual torture,

and mortified his legs. After long application, his irons were changed, and a surgeon directed to dress his legs; but his lameness is not nor ever can be cured: he was kept in this miserable condition for three weeks, by which his sight is greatly prejudiced, and in danger of being lost.

“The prisoner, upon this usage, petitioned the Judges; and after several meetings, and a full hearing, the Judges reprimanded Mr. Huggins and Bambridge, and declared that a gaoler could not answer the ironing of a man before he was found guilty of a crime; but it being out of term, they could not give the prisoner any relief or satisfaction.

“Notwithstanding this opinion of the Judges, the said Bambridge continued to keep the prisoner in irons till he had paid him six guineas; and to prevent the prisoner's recovering damages for the cruel treatment of him, Bambridge indicted him and his principal witnesses at the Old Bailey, before they knew anything of the matter; and to support that indictment, he had recourse to subornation, and turned two of his servants out of places which they had bought, because they would not swear falsely that the prisoner had struck the said Bambridge, which words he had inserted in affidavits ready prepared for signing, and which they knew to be false. As soon as they were apprised of it, they applied to the Lord Mayor, who ordered the grand jury down to the Fleet, where they found that Bambridge was the aggressor. But the bill against the prisoners being already found, the second inquiry was too late. The prisoners being no longer able to bear the charges of prosecution, which had already cost 100*l.*, and being softened by promises and terrified by threats, submitted to plead guilty, on a solemn assurance and agreement made with Bambridge before witnesses, of having but one shilling fine laid upon them; but so soon as they had pleaded guilty, Bambridge took advantage of it, and has continued harassing them and their securities ever since. The desire of gain urged the said Bambridge to the preceding instances of cruelty; but a more diabolical

passion, that of malice, animated him to oppress Captain David Sinclair in the following manner : —

“ At the latter end of June or beginning of July last, the said Bambridge declared to the said James Barnes, one of the agents of his cruelties, that he would have Sinclair’s blood; and he took the opportunity of the first festival day, which was on the first of August following, when he thought Captain Sinclair might, by celebrating the memory of the late king, be warmed with liquor so far as to give him some excuse for the cruelties which he intended to inflict upon him. But in some measure he was disappointed, for Captain Sinclair was perfectly sober, when the said Bambridge rushed into his room with a dark lanthorn in his hand, assisted by his accomplices, James Barnes and William Pindar, and supported by his usual guard, armed with muskets and bayonets, and without any provocation given, run his lanthorn into Captain Sinclair’s face, seized him by the collar, and told him he must come along with him. Captain Sinclair, though surprised, asked for what and by what authority he so treated him? Upon which Barnes and the rest seized Captain Sinclair, who still desiring to know by what authority they so abused him, Bambridge grossly insulted him, and struck him with his cane on the head and shoulders, whilst he was held fast by Pindar and Barnes. Such base and scandalous usage of this gentleman, who had in the late wars always signalised himself with the greatest courage, gallantry, and honour in the service of his country upon many of the most brave and desperate occasions, must be most shocking and intolerable; yet Captain Sinclair bore it with patience, refusing only to go out of his room unless he was forced; whereupon the said Bambridge threatened to run his cane down his throat, and ordered his guard to stab him with their bayonets, or drag him down to the said dungeon called the strong room, the latter of which they did, and Bambridge kept him confined in that damp and loathsome place, till he had lost the use of his limbs and memory,

neither of which has he perfectly recovered to this day. Many aggravating cruelties were used to make his confinement more terrible; and when Bambridge found he was in danger of immediate death, he removed him, for fear of his dying in duress, and caused him to be carried in a dying condition from that dungeon to a room where there was no bed or furniture, and so unmercifully prevented his friends having any access to him, that he was four days without the least sustenance.

“ It appeared to the Committee by the evidence of a surgeon and others, who were prisoners in the house, that when Captain Sinclair was forced into that loathsome dungeon he was in perfect health. Captain Sinclair applied for remedy at law against the said cruelties of Bambridge, and had procured a habeas corpus for his witnesses to be brought before the sessions of oyer and terminer, when the said Bambridge, by colour of his assumed authority as warden, took the said writs of habeas corpus from the officer whose duty it was to make a return of them, and commanded him to keep out of the way whilst he himself went to the Old Bailey, and immediately indicted Captain Sinclair and such of his witnesses as he knew he could not deter by threats or prevail with by promises to go from the truth.

“ Captain Sinclair had temper enough to bear patiently almost insupportable injuries, and to reserve himself for a proper occasion, when justice should be done him by the laws of the realm.

“ But the said Bambridge has forced others by wrongs and injuries beyond human bearing, to endeavour the avenging injuries and oppressions which they could no longer endure.

“ And it appeared to the Committee, that the said Bambridge, in order to avoid the punishment due to these crimes, hath committed greater, and hath not only denied admittance to the solicitors, who might procure justice to the injured prisoners, and in open defiance to the law,

disobeyed the king's writs, but hath also seduced some by indulging them in riot, and terrified others with fear of duress, to swear to and subscribe such false affidavits as he thought fit to prepare for them, on several occasions; in all which wrongs and oppressions John Everett also acted as one of the said Bambridge's wicked accomplices. That the said Bambridge being asked, by the committee, by what authority he pretended to put prisoners into dungeons and irons? answered, that he did it by his own authority, as warden, to preserve the quiet and safety of the custody of the prison.

“And that the said dungeons were built in defiance of, and contrary to, the declaration of the Lord King, when lord chief justice of the Common Pleas; who, upon an application made to him on behalf of the prisoners of the Fleet, when Mr. Huggins and Gybbon urged that there was danger of prisoners escaping, declared that they might raise their walls higher, but that there should be no prison within a prison.”

Whatever diminution of cruelty, or amendment of discipline resulted from the exposure of these enormities by the Parliamentary Committee, or from the punishment inflicted upon the wretches who perpetrated them, seems to have been temporary, and to have almost passed away before the subject of our Memoir — with an energy of benevolence as though all the spirit which animated that philanthropic band, having suddenly revived had become embodied in himself — resumed the task and,

“—— touched with human woe, redressive search'd
Into the horrors of the gloomy jail;
Unpitied and unheard where mis'ry moans;

Where sickness pines; where thirst and hunger burn,
And poor misfortune feels the lash of vice.”*

Scarcely had Howard entered upon his high office before it was his duty to attend the Judges of Assize, and to be present in the court whilst prisoners were tried. There he witnessed much which excited compassion, and gave an impulse to his philanthropy, which he neither could nor would restrain, and which at once caused the extension of its endeavours. The introduction to his *First Book on Prisons*, to which and the subsequent volume we shall in the sequel have frequent occasion to refer, thus begins:—

“The distress of prisoners, of which there are few who have not some imperfect idea, came more immediately under my notice when I was sheriff of the county of Bedford; and the circumstance which excited me to activity in their behalf was the seeing some, who by the verdict of juries were declared not guilty; some, on whom the grand jury did not find such an appearance of guilt as subjected them to trial; and some whose prosecutors did not appear against them; after having been confined for months, dragged back to gaol and locked up again till they should pay sundry fees to the gaoler, the clerk of assize, &c.

In order to redress this hardship, I applied to the justices of the county for a salary to the gaoler in lieu of his fees.† The bench were properly affected with the grievance, and willing to grant the relief desired; but they wanted a precedent for charging the county with the ex-

* Thomson's *Winter*, 360—365.

† The following printed paper was suspended in Bedford gaol:—
“All persons that come to this place, either by warrant, commitment, or verbally, must pay, before discharged, fifteen shillings and four pence to the gaoler, and two shillings to the turnkey.”

pense. I therefore rode into several neighbouring counties in search of one; but I soon learned that the same injustice was practised in them; and looking into the prisons, beheld scenes of calamity, which I grew daily more and more anxious to alleviate. In order therefore to gain a more perfect knowledge of the particulars and extent of it, by various and accurate observation, I visited most of the county gaols in England."

It will not be supposed that although one special grievance induced Howard to visit other gaols, his observation was therefore confined to that single vicious custom when so much besides required correction. On the contrary he saw many defects both in the construction of Bedford Gaol, and in the punishment of its unhappy inmates, and he perceived the like generally in other prisons; at the same time he was ever quick in discerning improvements, and as anxious to adopt them. This brief description of the gaol under his own jurisdiction will be read with interest:—

"In this prison there is a day-room for debtors, which is used as a chapel; and three or four lodging-rooms,—one for men, the other for women, —without fire-places; two dungeons, down eleven steps, and often very damp. Five pounds a year is allowed to the gaoler for straw, which is not on the floors, but on frames or bedsteads. The justices in winter, upon application, grant coals both to debtors and felons. The court is common to both, and small. No apartment for the gaoler, nor any salary. Clauses of the act against spirituous liquors are not hung up. I was, when sheriff, culpably ignorant of that act. No infirmary. About twenty years ago the gaol fever was in this prison; some died there, and many in the town; among whom was

the surgeon, who attended the prisoners. His successor judiciously changed the medicines from sudorifics (generally used before) to bark and cordials: and a sail ventilator being soon after put up, the gaol has been free from the fever almost ever since.

“This prison is kept very clean, but the act for preserving the health of prisoners is not hung up.* Besides the fees extorted, if possible, by the gaoler, the debtor must pay garnish five shillings. The allowance of food was two quartern loaves a week each: and for felons two half peck loaves.”

November 4. 1773. — Howard’s inspection commenced with the neighbouring prisons of Huntingdon and Cambridge; but seeing like evils to those at Bedford, and having derived no advantage from this excursion, he again started on the 15th of that month, and visited several more distant gaols. Northampton came first in this tour, where the keeper of the Bridewell received 36*l.* as his salary, but paid 40*l.* for his office of gaoler. The prison was close and confined; there was a dungeon, in which were several prisoners. The allowance of food was about the same as at Bedford; but no bedding, nor even straw, was granted to lie upon. The chapel was at the top of the gaoler’s house; and upon this the humane visitor remarks, “it must be painful for prisoners loaded with irons to go up and down the stairs.”† Leicester was next visited. The prison here was bad in almost every respect. Its dungeons were damp, dark, and offensive. The prisoners slept on mats, but had no

* State of Prisons, 1st Bk. p. 241.

† Ibid. p. 295.

coverlets. There was no chapel, and but a small court. We are told that a debtor in the Fleet, who published a "Cry of the Oppressed," in 1691, complained of the "low moist dungeon" in which a fellow-sufferer was then immured in this gaol. The keeper had no salary, and garnish was forbidden; but some exorbitant fees were exacted. An annual collection was made by the clergy for the clothing, food, and firing of some debtors, whereby, Howard tells us, great relief was afforded.* Nottingham was his next stage, where he says, "Down twenty-eight steps are three rooms for criminals who can pay. Down twelve steps more are deep dungeons cut in the sandy rock, very damp." † The sight of these most wretched dens presented a contrast to apparent benevolence towards their inmates, since a commodious bath was provided, which could be warm when required, and abundant nourishment was ordered for the sick. Upon this Howard — always glad to promote good by commendation rather than censure, — observes, "Gentlemen so remarkably considerate and humane, will, I hope, abolish the unwholesome dungeons." ‡

At Derby the prison had not been erected twenty years, and was in some respects preferable to those described. There was a small chapel, a bath, and an infirmary. The keeper had a salary, and the prisoners more food, with some firing and straw, yet even here a dungeon was the only dormitory

* State of Prisons, 1st Bk. p. 271.

† Ibid. p. 280.

‡ Ibid. p. 279.

for men, and the women were crowded into close unhealthy rooms, whilst the intercourse of different classes was not enough restrained.*

Thence Howard went to Stafford, where he tells us the gaol was much too small, and the felons' dungeon had no window or opening besides the door. The gaoler, however, was more humane than most, and had "cancelled the garnish for felons." Straw was also provided at the county expense, not "farmed by the keeper."†

The city prison at Lichfield consisted of two cells — size $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $5\frac{1}{2}$; an enclosed court, in which was an offensive sewer, and no other water was provided: no straw.

At Warwick gaol he found some more miserable dungeons, — "close, damp, and offensive." A keeper had died of the gaol distemper. Some cruel practices had been abandoned, — amongst them that of loading females with irons, and Howard again pleads for the extension of compassion on this account.‡

Thence he proceeded to Worcester. Here were many gross practices. The keeper was the widow of one who had before held the office.§ The felons' dungeon was 26 feet under ground. The surgeon of this prison had caught the gaol fever, and was fearful of going again into this pit of corruption.

* State of Prisons, 1st Bk. p. 275.

† Ibid. p. 311.

‡ Ibid. p. 265.

§ I have elsewhere described other prisons of which women were the appointed keepers. It was the case with nine county prisons in Howard's day.—*Pris. Discip.*, vol. i. p. 10.

When any prisoners were sick he directed them to be brought up to him. But fresh air was the best preventive, and therefore over the dungeōn was an open grate, and a ventilator occasionally worked by the prisoners. Howard recommended the adoption of this plan in several prisons. It was a wise precaution until he could convince men of the inhumanity and guilt of incarcerating their fellow creatures in such dismal, loathsome dens. Many a lesson indeed had been already given, besides the constant mortality within the prison walls, and the loss of men who, like this surgeon at Worcester, and the gaoler at Warwick, were officially engaged and suffered in consequence. To this subject we must recur when Howard himself comments upon it.

The county gaol at Gloucester was next visited, and the following is the description given of it: —

“ Only one court for all the prisoners, and one small day-room, 12 feet by 11, for men and women — felons. The free ward for debtors is 19 feet by 11, which having no window, part of the plaster wall is broken down for light and air. The night-room (the *Main*) for men felons, though up many stone steps, is close and dark; and the floor is so ruinous, that it cannot be washed. Adjoining to the *Main*, there are other night-rooms for fines, &c. These have also their separate day-room. The whole prison is much out of repair. . . . There is a chapel, but all the endeavours of the chaplain to promote reformation among the prisoners must necessarily be defeated, by the inattention of the magistrates, and their neglect of framing and enforcing good regulations. . . . Of the felons, &c., thirteen were transports: about twenty were fines; and not having the county allowance, nor any employment

were very pitiable objects indeed ; half naked, and almost famished. Mr. Raikes and other gentlemen took pity on them, and generously contributed towards the feeding and clothing them.”*

I have given Howard’s description of this prison in his own phraseology, and with more full particulars, because, as will be hereafter seen, the improvements effected there were amongst the first fruits of his labours.

Mr. Raikes, whose piety and philanthropy were conspicuous not only in the relief of criminals, but also in the establishment of Sunday schools, by which so much crime has been prevented, was not long without additional support, nor were other authorities allowed to remain “inattentive and negligent.” Something of Howard’s spirit was imparted to a distinguished and most intelligent magistrate of this county — Sir G. O. Paul, who, in a manner worthy of his own character and of the occasion, a few years after protested against the continuance of such enormities, and, as the sequel will show, prevailed in his endeavours to correct them. I give an extract from his book on Prisons confirmatory of the above account. In addressing the grand jury he writes —

“I trust no public meeting of this county will ever again indolently separate, without a complete investigation of the subject now brought into question ; if it does, such conduct shall no longer be excused by the plea of ignorance of the unjust and indiscriminate miseries which be-

* State of Prisons, p. 314.

come the lot of that portion of our fellow-creatures, who are confined in the prisons of this country; nor from the neglect of considering the incompetency of the existing means to the end proposed by confinement. It shall not be for want of this broad suggestion, that, whilst the conduct of prisons is by the laws intrusted to our direction, every suffering, not warranted by the *spirit* as well as *letter* of the law is extra-judicial punishment, for which we are answerable to injured humanity. . . . It frequently happens, that the verdict of an honourable acquittal is announced to a wretch expiring in a pestilential disease, or so reduced by hunger and despair, that the freedom we award him is become a thankless boon. That this picture is not overcharged, it is only necessary to state, that, at the last assizes, eleven bills were found against prisoners in so bad a state of health that they could not take their trials; — and it is a fact, that two prisoners were expiring whilst the grand jury were examining their indictments, and were actually dead before the bills were returned into court. During the last ten months, fourteen prisoners have died of the small pox and gaol distemper, of whom seven were persons unconvicted of any crime, — three were fines — three debtors — and one convict.”*

From Gloucester Howard proceeded to Oxford and Aylesbury; and in the prisons of both places he found malpractices and miseries similar to those described. With the last this tour was completed. On his return to Cardington, the frightful retrospect would not suffer him to remain in his peaceful home. The original purpose of his journey had not yet been accomplished, but he had seen so much of crime, cruelty, and distress in the management and condition of the prisons he had visited, that he de-

* Sir G. O. Paul on Prisons, vol. i. pp. 11. 17. See Appendix D.

terminated at once to resume his inspection. He was no stranger to oppression and wretchedness when he began his investigation, but he had discovered more than former experience led him to think existed in his native land. With Howard the knowledge of woe was enough, not merely to excite a wish for its removal, but to forbid rest until the effort had been made. He naturally supposed other men must feel and act as he did, if made acquainted with the misery he witnessed; but lest the partial survey should not convince that the evils were extensive, he resolves by enlarged observation to ascertain the truth. After an interval of only ten days, he entered afresh upon his work of mercy. On this excursion, Hertford gaol was first visited. Here were two small rooms, and two dungeons, in which the felons were continually kept, without fresh air or exercise of any kind. Reading was next visited. Here a woman was keeper, and it was no wonder that the felons had a short time before broken prison. Neither straw nor water was provided; but a person had charitably given thirty-six coverlets, six years before, which were then rags.*

Over the debtors' grate were these lines —

“ O ye, whose hours exempt from sorrow flow !
Behold the seat of pain, and want, and woe ;
Think, while your hands th' entreated alms extend,
That what to us ye give, to God ye lend.”†

* State of Prisons, p. 299.

† These lines are now inscribed over a charity box, connected with the debtors' gaol, at Dover Castle. See *Prison Discip.*, vol. i. p. 11.

At Salisbury, whither Howard next went, he found prisoners were allowed coal, but had no chimneys in their wards. It was burnt in the middle of them upon a raised brick. He further tells us that —

“Just without the prison gate is a round staple fixed in the wall: through it is put a chain, at each end of which a debtor, padlocked by the leg, stands, offering to those who pass by nets, laces, purses, &c., made in the prison. At Christmas, felons chained together, are permitted to go about; one of them carrying a sack or basket for food, another a box for money.”*

Both here, and at Dorchester, which was next visited, if at the assizes a bill against any supposed felon were ignored, or, if upon his trial, he were found “not guilty,” he was not discharged until 23s. had been paid; so that the verdict of acquittal might entail a longer imprisonment than would have been imposed upon a conviction.

At Winchester gaol he found some recent improvements had been effected. It was more cleanly than most. The dungeon had been enlarged. It had been, we are informed, “destructive and dark.” Well indeed might the former epithet be applied, for in it twenty had died of gaol fever not long before, and the keeper also fell a victim to that dreadful scourge.†

At Horsham was a prison with small rooms, and no court for air and exercise. No straw allowed. In a note Howard tells us that when he entered

* State of Prisons, p. 337.

† Ibid. p. 330.

with the keeper, they saw a heap of rubbish. The prisoners had been two or three days undermining, and a general escape was intended that night. "Our lives," he adds, "were at their mercy : but (thank God) they did not attempt to murder us and rush out."*

The bridewell at Guilford was no better constructed. There was indeed a small court, but no prisoner had access to it excepting on payment of a shilling. Having thus far explored these haunts of tyranny, corruption, and vice, some recreation became necessary. Howard, therefore, returned to London ; and the Christmas holidays having arrived, he proceeded to Pinner, where his beloved child had been for about a year at school, and thence he accompanied him to Cardington.

It appears that on the very day of his son's return to school, January 17. 1774, Howard again left home on a tour of further inspection. Oakham gaol was first visited. This must have resembled a large barn ; the whole of it was thatched, and it seems to have been in every respect unfit for its appointed purpose. Thence he proceeded to York, where, after describing some other vicious practices, he adds —

"At the inner door of this prison, which is of iron grates, I have seen liquors handed to those who seemed to have had enough before. Formerly there was no water in this prison, but when they had too much ; that is, in a very high flood ; then it flows into the rooms : now water is laid

* State of Prisons, pp. 27. 229.

in. It were in vain to offer any hints of improvement. This gaol cannot be made a good one.”*

The county gaol for debtors at York was, Howard remarked, “a noble prison which does honour to the county;” but that for criminals is thus described —

“The felons’ court is down five steps: it is too small, and has no water: in it are three cells; in another place nine cells: and three in another. The cells are in general about $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $6\frac{1}{2}$, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet high; close and dark, — having only either a small hole over the door, or some perforations in it of about an inch in diameter: not any of them into the open air, but into passages or entries. In most of these cells three prisoners are locked up at night; in winter for fourteen or sixteen hours: straw on the stone floors; no bedsteads. There are four condemned rooms, about seven feet square. A sewer in one of the passages often makes these parts of the gaol very offensive; and I cannot say they are clean. Indeed, a clean prison is scarcely ever seen where the water has to be brought in by the gaoler’s servants.”†

Lincoln castle was next inspected. From a room for debtors you descend, says Howard —

“By a trap-door ten steps down to two vaulted dungeons for criminals; one called the “Pit,” another within it, the condemned cell. — A little short straw on the floor — both offensive; no water, no sewer.”

The gaoler had no salary, but farmed the victualling. The gaol for the city was little better. Dungeons so damp that a bedstead, so seldom seen

* State of Prisons, p. 368.

† Ibid. p. 298.

in prisons, was indispensable, but neither bedding nor straw was provided. No court. No water.*

At Ely the gaoler had been guilty of most atrocious practices. The prison was unsafe; and in order to secure its inmates, he had chained them down on their backs upon the floor, across which were several iron bars, with an iron collar with spikes about their necks, and a heavy iron bar over their legs. An excellent magistrate, J. Collyer, Esq., presented an account of the case with a drawing to the king, with which His Majesty was much affected, and gave immediate orders for proper inquiry and redress. The prison had in consequence been rebuilt.†

At Norwich, both in the county and city prisons there were also dungeons and vicious arrangements similar to those generally prevailing. At the latter, the keeper, instead of receiving a salary, paid thirty guineas a year for his office. At Ipswich, some better regulations prevailed, and the prisoners were treated with more humanity. A bedstead, with even one blanket, was furnished for each.

From Ipswich Howard went to London, whence he made an excursion to Colchester, and having there inspected the prison he returned for the purpose of examining the county gaol at Southwark. He describes it as "having eighteen large rooms, yet not sufficient for the number of prisoners. No bedding: no straw: no infirmary: no chapel."‡

* State of Prisons, p. 298.

† See Appendix.

‡ State of Prisons, p. 205.

From London he proceeded to Exeter. The gaol there was private property, and the keeper paid 22*l.* per annum for his privileges, which consisted of "the tap" and the extortion of fees. Every criminal must pay 14*s.* 4*d.*, before he could be released. On this visit two sailors fined only 1*s.* for their offence, were detained for fees which they had no opportunity or prospect of being able to pay. The prison was too confined. There were three dungeons and an infirmary lately built; in them all the prisoners were confined at night.*

The prison for the city of Exeter is briefly described:—

"Very close, very offensive: no chimney: no water: no court: no sewer."

The gaol for Cornwall at Launceston was in a wretched condition. I transcribe Howard's notes—

"This gaol, though built in the large green belonging to the old ruinous castle, is very small. The prison is a room or passage, 23½ feet by 7½, with only one window 2 feet by 1½: and three dungeons or cages on the side opposite the window: these are about 6½ feet deep; one 9 feet long; one about 8 feet; one not 5 feet: this last for women. They are all very offensive. No chimney: no water: no sewers: damp earth floors: no infirmary. The court not secure; and prisoners seldom permitted to go out to it. Indeed, the whole prison is out of repair, and yet the gaoler lives distant. I once found the prisoners chained two or three together. Their provision was put down to them through a hole (9 inches by 8) in the floor of the room above (used as a chapel); and those who

* State of Prisons, p. 344.

served them there often caught the fatal fever. At my first visit I found the keeper, his assistant, and all the prisoners but one sick of it, and heard that a few years before, many prisoners had died of it, and the keeper and his wife in one night."*

To dismal receptacles like these and others we must describe the application of Milton's lines can scarcely be an exaggeration —

"A dungeon horrible on all sides round :
No light ; but rather darkness visible
Serv'd only to discover sights of woe,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell."

At Ilchester the prison arrangements were better than at most places. Thence Howard proceeded to Bristol, where he found more close unhealthy dungeons, without any allowance of bedding or straw for the prisoners. Here the poorest debtors were compelled, if any shelter was afforded them, to pay tenpence a week.

At Hereford gaol, which was next visited, there was no better provision for the wretched inmates ; but on proceeding to Monmouth he found much worse misery. The felons were all confined at night at the top of the gaoler's house, in darkness and filth ; for as Howard observes, "it was difficult to carry water up and down a narrow staircase with iron fetters on." The consequence of this was that the gaol fever was raging with viru-

* State of Prisons, p. 351, 352.

lence. The keeper, several of the prisoners, and some of their friends died of it. From Monmouth Howard proceeded to London. He there visited the Wood Street compter, and found it crowded, dark and dirty, vermin swarming in it. No bedding or straw was allowed for felons: those who could pay 1s. a night obtained a bed. There was a chapel, and under it the tap-room. No wonder that in this close and offensive scene of wretchedness the prisons were sickly, and eleven had recently died. Howard had by this time not only seen enough to satisfy his own mind that the evils he witnessed in Bedford gaol were equalled in almost every other, and very far surpassed in many, but he had now collected an amount of evidence on the condition of our English prisons which was calculated to arouse the most indifferent, and to excite in every humane mind an earnest desire for their improvement. An opportunity for making known the result of his observations was ere long presented.

The iniquity of extorting fees, especially from innocent persons, had impressed the mind of a benevolent member of the House of Commons — Mr. Popham, and during the last year he had introduced a bill providing for their payment out of the county rates. That bill, after having been read a second time, was dropped in committee, because adequate compensation to some parties deriving emoluments from the existing system was not secured. But it appears that Mr. Popham, having in

the meantime held communication with our philanthropic inspector, renewed his motion in the next session, March, 1774, with an additional measure for the more effectually securing the health of prisoners confined in gaols. A friend of Howard's, Mr. St. John, and his relative Mr. Whitbread, appear to have taken an active part in the preparation and support of these bills. A committee was formed and the philanthropist was examined. Some kindred spirits could appreciate his motives, whilst all must have admired his devotedness and self-denial. But, as Dr. Aikin, observes, —

“Such pure and active benevolence was not universally comprehended, for a member thought fit to ask him, — ‘At whose expense he travelled?’ A question which Mr. Howard could scarcely answer without some indignant emotions.”*

The evidence adduced seems to have astounded the committee, and to have secured the passing of these important measures. This was the first step towards the correction of vicious regulations; it cheered Howard with the conviction that his labour had not been in vain; it encouraged his perseverance as an earnest of future success. But lest these, like so many acts of parliament, should be too obscure, and misunderstood, we are told he had them printed at his own expence, in an intelligible form, and sent to every keeper of a county gaol in England. “By those acts,” writes the rejoicing philanthropist, “the tear was wiped from many an

* Aikin, p. 57.

eye; and the legislature had for them the blessing of many that were ready to perish." *

Connected with these circumstances an event occurred which must have been gratifying to Howard, as it was honourable to others concerned. The deeds of chivalry always obtained favour equal to their worth; the heroism of the victor seldom lost a due reward; but patriotism proved by philanthropy was rare; valour was not wont to show itself by encountering disease, from a simple desire to afford relief; Howard's was a warfare with the woes of life, fought not for the vain-glory of his country, but for the victims of oppression, and those who proved its shame. Where was the precedent for public honour in any such like service? It was not sought for. Howard was singular in his virtues, but they were too conspicuous and praiseworthy to be overlooked; and therefore the thanks of the House of Commons were tendered to him. Upon its meeting, the chairman of the committee, Sir Thomas Clavering, reported that " he was directed to move the House, that John Howard, Esq., be called in to the bar, and that Mr. Speaker do acquaint him, that the House are very sensible of the humanity and zeal which have led him to visit the several gaols of this kingdom, and to communicate to the House the interesting observations he has made upon the subject."

The motion was carried unanimously, and the voices of men of every party were united in one general applause.

* Introd. to State of Prisons, p. 2.

CHAPTER VI.

HOWARD ENCOURAGED, RESUMES INSPECTION OF GAOLS. — THE MARSHALSEA. — DUNGEONS AT DURHAM AND MORPETH. — NOTES ON GAOLS OF NEWCASTLE, CARLISLE, LANCASTER, PRESTON, AND LIVERPOOL. — HORRIBLE DUNGEONS OF CHESTER CASTLE. — DESCRIPTION OF GAOLS AT WREXHAM AND SHREWSBURY. — OTHER PRISONS VISITED ON RETURN TO CARDINGTON. — ANOTHER TOUR. — VISITS GAOLS AT MAIDSTONE, CANTERBURY, CLERKENWELL, TOTHILL-FIELDS. — AN EXEMPLARY GAOLER. — THE FLEET. — THE KING'S BENCH. — GAOLS IN WHITECHAPEL, TOWER HAMLETS, THE BOROUGH COMPTER. — RELAXATION NECESSARY. — RETURNS HOME. — TOUR OF PRISON INSPECTION THROUGH WALES. — VISITS THE BRIDEWELLS IN ENGLAND. — THEIR WRETCHED STATE. — HOWARD'S PUBLIC CHARACTER. — A CANDIDATE FOR BEDFORD WITH MR. WHITEHEAD. — VISITS AGAIN PRISONS IN SEVERAL COUNTIES. — LONG IMPRISONMENT BEFORE TRIAL. — GOES INTO SCOTLAND AND IRELAND. — REGULATIONS FOR IRISH GAOLS. — COMMITTEE ON BEDFORD ELECTION.

THE energy of Howard's benevolence was such, that although we cannot suppose him to have been insensible to the high honour conferred upon him, yet no additional impulse was required. His philanthropy had not been called forth by any desire of human favour, nor was it capable of increase or diminution by the commendation or censure of fellow-men. It was deep-rooted, because of divine origin, and, constantly deriving its vigour from the same source, was ever fruitful. As the blast of opposition had no tendency to make it barren, so neither had the

sunshine of prosperity any withering influence. Yet the honour was valued. It was a proof of sympathy, and a promise of success. It was therefore a call and an encouragement to renewed activity, and Howard, at once hopeful and obedient, resumed his labour.

Going first to London, he visited the Marshalsea, a gaol in which pirates, and persons arrested for the lowest sums within twelve miles around London, were confined. The "Common Side Debtors" had only six rooms, which were intolerably crowded; yet five other rooms were let to a man, who made use of one of them as a chandler's shop, and, with his family, resided in the others. Many prisoners had no beds, nor any place to sleep in but the chapel and the tap-room. There was no infirmary. Howard adds —

"The Tap was let to a prisoner in the rules of the King's Bench prison; this prison being just within those rules. I was credibly informed that one Sunday 600 pots of beer were brought in from a public house, the prisoners not then liking the tapster's beer."*

A few days after the above visit we find Howard at Durham, where the County Gaol was in a horrible condition. The following is his description: —

"Felons have no court, but they have a day-room, and two small rooms for an infirmary. The men are put at night into dungeons: one seven feet square for three

* State of Prisons, p. 212.

prisoners; another, the *Great Hole*, seventeen feet by twelve, has only a little window. In this I saw six prisoners, most of them transports, chained to the floor. In that situation they had been many weeks; and were very sickly. Their straw on the stone floor almost worn to dust. Long confinement, and not having the king's allowance of 2s. 6d. a week, had urged them to attempt an escape; after which the gaoler chained them as above."*

At Newcastle Howard had the enjoyment of seeing some prisoners treated with justice and compassion. The gaoler had a salary. The prison was remarkably clean, strewn with sand. The prisoners had sufficient coals and candles —

“Every one had a chaff bed, two blankets and a coverlet. Debtors and felons were not thus accommodated in any other prison in England. No prisoners have fetters unless they be riotous. For some years past, prisoners acquitted have been discharged in court; the Corporation paid the gaoler's fees if the prisoners were poor. A physician of the town visited the prisoners very assiduously, without fee or reward. This is the only instance of the kind I have met with.”†

How much must the humane spirit of Howard have rejoiced in the charity and cleanliness which was here so singularly shown. It might raise his expectation that as he proceeded he should yet find clemency and kindness prevailing to a greater extent than the retrospect could give the hope, and we may be sure he left Newcastle Gaol longing to see others like it—a bright illusion which dismal realities must soon dispel! He had gone but a few miles

* State of Prisons, p. 379.

† Ib. p. 383.

further, when in the foul dark dungeon of Morpeth Gaol, he found three wretched creatures chained down and deprived of everything but just food enough to preserve their miserable life. The assizes, we are told, were held at Newcastle, whither prisoners were then conveyed; and at that time as though the proper management and humanity we have admired there could not possibly be extended, “the men and women were confined together four or five nights in a dirty, damp dungeon of the old Castle, which having no roof, in a wet season the water is some inches deep.” *

At Carlisle, if there was less cruelty there was as little discipline. Prisoners of both sexes were confined together in darkness and dirt. †

The county gaol of Westmoreland was occasionally inundated by floods. There was neither chaplain nor surgeon. The debtors had no allowance whatever, whilst felons had the liberal grant of fourpence a day. ‡

Lancaster Castle was next visited. Here the debtors were under judicious and humane treatment; but criminal prisoners, says Howard —

“Had for their night rooms two vaulted cells. One of them, the low dungeon, is ten steps under ground, extremely close, dark, and unwholesome, very hot even in winter. The other cell, the high dungeon, is close and offensive, though not under ground.” §

Preston Bridewell is described to have been “a

* State of Prisons, p. 386.

† Ib. p. 390.

‡ Ib. p. 392.

§ Ib. p. 394.

Friary. On the ground-floor is a large room, in which are eleven closets, called *boxes*, to sleep in, and another room the dungeon.

Howard proceeded to Liverpool and thence to Chester: the Castle, which was the county gaol, he thus describes —

“This Castle is the property of the king. The first room is a hall, or chapel: Down eighteen steps is a small court, which was common to debtors and felons. It is lately divided; but the high close pales which separate the two courts, now so very small, deprive both debtors and felons of the benefit of fresh air. The former, in their free ward, the Pope’s Kitchen; the latter in their day-room, the King’s Kitchen. Both these are six steps below the court: near the former is the condemned room. Under the Pope’s Kitchen is a dark room or passage: the descent to it is by twenty-one steps from the court. No window: not a breath of fresh air: only two apertures with grates in the ceiling into the Pope’s Kitchen above. On one side of it are six cells (*stalls*) each about eight feet by three, with a barrack bedstead, and an aperture over the door about eight inches by four. In each of these are locked up at night sometimes three or four felons. They pitch these dungeons two or three times a year: when I was in one of them, I ordered the door to be shut, and my situation brought to mind what I had heard of the *black hole* at Calcutta.” *

And, whilst thus loathsome, it was likewise insecure, and the prisoners had recently escaped through the decayed walls. We may well believe that the Philanthropist heard of such occurrences with little sorrow, since they might induce men,

* State of Prisons, p. 400.

destitute of better motives, and little disposed to commiserate their prisoners, to reconstruct their gaols from the principle of self-preservation, and for the safety of that which they possessed.

The prison for the city of Chester was little better.

“Down ten steps were two new dungeons. No water: no allowance. . . . Here were several leaden weights marked 30, 40, 60 pounds, with a ring and chains to each: these are fastened to the legs of refractory prisoners, so that they cannot walk without carrying the weight. The keeper said that it was extremely difficult to make prisoners behave orderly while they were together.*

The county gaol at Wrexham was only

“Part of a house, most of which formed the parish poor-house. The prisoners had only two dark offensive rooms without any window; a wall within six feet of the door; they justly complained of being almost suffocated, and begged to be let out for air into the keeper’s garden. All was dirty and out of repair.”†

Howard again found some interval of rest needful, and directed his course homewards. On his way he revisited the prisons at Stafford, Derby, Nottingham, Northampton, and Leicester. In the borough gaol of the last town he found that women, as well as men, were confined in dungeons.

A single week’s repose at Cardington was sufficient to recruit one so ardent in his work as Howard; and, on the 13th of April, he travelled into Kent. We there find him inspecting the prison at Maid-

* State of Prisons, p. 407.

† Ib. p. 414.

stone; where, for the first time, he discovered an instance in which a salary had been assigned to the gaoler, in lieu of the "Tap." Other humane arrangements were creditable to the magistrates of this county, when so few showed any feeling of compassion towards offenders. The fees of liberated criminals and of culprits, when acquitted, were paid out of the county funds. Felons had a comparatively liberal allowance, though not judiciously apportioned. Each had a quart of beer, and eighteen ounces of bread, a day: yet the poor debtors were not permitted to share in this provision. Howard says—

"The baker who serves the felons, sells thirteen loaves to the dozen; and debtors have amongst them every thirteenth loaf. There was no chapel in this large prison, but divine service was occasionally performed upon the stairs."

The gaoler was likewise more humane than most of his fraternity of that day; and it is observed that only two prisoners were in irons.*

Thence Howard proceeded to Canterbury, and visited the bridewells in that city. That for the county he found clean, though defective in some respects; but the city prison over the west gate was not only dirty, but confined and ill-regulated. This was a certain consequence of the gaoler's keeping a public house adjoining. Rochester prison seems to have been equally bad.—There were

* State of Prisons, p. 224.

“three rooms, all close and offensive. No court: no water.” *

Returning to London, Howard’s attention was directed to the large gaols which he had then an opportunity of inspecting. The bridewell at Clerkenwell was first visited. Here he found mere sheds for the day-rooms, and the sleeping places were so crowded that some were obliged to sleep in hammocks suspended from the ceiling.

Yet even these arrangements were preferable to those for the women, none of whom were allowed beds, or even straw to lie upon, unless they could pay. They had twelve very small, dark, unwholesome cells, in which they were crammed together during the night, there being as many women of the poorest class, as men, in this prison. Some were seen picking oakum, which their considerate visitor speaks of as salutary, because the scent of the tar counteracted the contagious and unhealthy effluvia.†

Tothillfields Bridewell was next visited. Here very little provision was made by the higher authorities, either for the spiritual or bodily welfare of the inmates: there being no appointed chaplain; very inadequate accommodation; no infirmary; insufficient food; and no straw allowed. But the exemplary conduct of the keeper formed a pleasing contrast to the culpable negligence of his superiors. He appears to have been a man who feared God, and therefore felt anxious for the comfort and im-

* State of Prisons, p. 228.

† Ib. p. 196.

provement of his prisoners. Hence the observation, "I found this prison clean, washed every day, and quite wholesome."

There was a chapel in which, in the absence of the chaplain, we are told, the gaoler "read a chapter and prayers every morning." Sunday, as we have seen in Howard's notes, was in most prisons a day of dissipation; it was not so polluted in this gaol, for over the gate is a paper with this inscription:—"No person admitted into this prison on a Sunday, after nine o'clock in the morning, until five o'clock in the evening." Howard, who never overlooked any sign of humanity in a prison, which might encourage a plea for more, perhaps discerned some indication of its existence amongst the magistracy although he has not recorded it, and so with a kind modest simplicity which is characteristic, he adds—

"As I have seen several sick objects on the floor, the gentlemen, who are so ready to relieve the sufferings of their fellow-creatures, will forgive the intimation that an infirmary might be made over the women's ward."*

The indefatigable philanthropist next visited the Fleet. We have before observed, if some discovery of mercy infused its balm into that heart which was so pierced in sympathy with the woes and wrongs of fellow-men, and staunched for a time its bleeding wounds, the relief was short; generally within a few hours some sight of suffering or oppression rent Howard's heart afresh. Yet renewed grief

* State of Prisons, p. 203.

was not allowed to discourage, but rather to stimulate exertion, and to strengthen the holy resolution that life should be spent in the endeavour—and sacrificed, if required—to alleviate the wretchedness he saw. What were his feelings when visiting the Fleet we may infer from the description he has given of the prison, its occupants, and their pursuits. Howard begins by referring to the gaol committee of 1729, when he tells us that “many abuses were the subject of inquiry.” It would appear, however, that if the punishment of the warden prevented future cruelty, yet gross irregularities were not permanently corrected. There are, he says, four floors—they call them *galleries*—besides the cellar floor, called Bartholomew Fair.

“On the first floor, the hall gallery, to which you ascend by eight steps, are a chapel, a tap-room, a coffee-room (lately made out of two rooms for debtors), a room for the turnkey, another for the watchman, and eighteen rooms for prisoners. Besides the coffee-room and tap-room, two of those eighteen rooms, and all the cellar floor—except a lock-up-room to confine the disorderly, and another room for the turnkey—were held by the tapster, who bought the remainder of the lease at *public auction*.

On the first gallery are twenty-five rooms for prisoners. On the second twenty-seven: one of them, fronting the staircase, is their committee room. At the other end, in a large room over the chapel, is a dirty billiard table kept by the prisoner who sleeps in that room. All the rooms I have mentioned are for Master’s side debtors. The weekly rent of those not held by the tapster is 1s. 3d. unfurnished. They fall to the prisoners in succession: thus, when a room becomes vacant, the first prisoner upon the list of such as

have paid their entrance fees takes possession of it. When the prison was built the warden gave each prisoner his choice of a room according to his seniority as prisoner. If all of them be occupied a new comer must hire of some tenant a part of his room, or shift as he can. Prisoners are excluded from all right of succession to the rooms held by the tapster and let at the high rents aforesaid. The apartments for common-side debtors are only part of the right wing of the prison. Besides the cellar (which was intended for their kitchen, but occupied with lumber and shut up) there are four floors. On each floor is a room about 24 or 25 feet square, with a fire-place, and on the sides seven closets or cabins to sleep in. Such of these prisoners as swear in court that they are not worth 5*l.*, and cannot subsist without charity (of them there were at one of my visits sixteen, at other times not so many), have the donations which are sent to the prison, the begging-box and the grate.

“I mentioned the billiard table. They also play in the court at skittles, mississippi, fives, tennis, &c. : and not only the prisoners, I saw among them several butchers and others from the market, who are admitted here as at any other public-house. The same may be seen in many other prisons where the gaoler keeps or lets the tap.

“Besides the inconvenience of this to prisoners, the frequenting a prison lessens the dread of being confined in one. On Monday night there was a wine club : on Thursday night a beer club : each lasting usually till one or two in the morning. I need not say how much riot these occasion, and how the sober prisoners, and those that are sick, are annoyed by them.

“Seeing the prison crowded with women and children I procured an accurate list of them, and found that when there were 243 prisoners, their wives (including women of an appellation not so honourable) and children were 475.”

To the mind of Howard how revolting must have been that venality which either the connivance or

the carelessness of the authorities encouraged. A public edifice became the scene of extortion the most shameless and cruel. A portion of the prison—the cellars—had been sold to some publican, who exacted for the very worst accommodation a sum varying from twice to six times the amount of that which was paid by the more fortunate for the best. Yet this was the least evil consequent upon the mercenary spirit which permitted the exorbitancy. Drunkenness, lewdness, dissipation, and vices of almost every kind were thus generated and encouraged. Amongst them how iniquitous that gambling—the very cause, probably, of the bankruptcy and the wretchedness of many who were there incarcerated—should not only have been tolerated, but countenanced in all its ruinous varieties. The dupe there learned to deceive, and the gamester became more expert in knavery; and each, when released, went forth from that school of trickery and crime fatally proficient in the lessons there taught, and prepared to inveigle many to their ruin.

The mention of a “committee room” has probably surprised the reader; or, perhaps, he inferred that lawfully constituted authorities met there to frame and enforce regulations for the government of the Fleet. If so, Howard will correct the error by informing us that—

“There is a printed code of laws, which establishes a president, secretary, and a committee, which is to be chosen every month, and to consist of three members from each

gallery. They are to raise contributions by assessments; to hear complaints; to determine disputes; levy fines; and seize goods for payment. Their sense to be deemed the sense of the whole house. The president or secretary to hold the cash; the committee to dispose of it.”*

For the semblance of propriety these prison legislators nominally discourage profaneness and debauchery, but strictly enforce the violation of the sabbath, and other means which may ensure those vices: for they enact that—

“For blasphemy, swearing, riot, drunkenness, &c. the committee to fine *at discretion*; for damaging a lamp, fine a shilling. They are to take from a new comer *on the first Sunday*, besides the two shillings *garnish* to be spent in wine, one shilling and sixpence to be appropriated to the use of the house.”†

Grieved and disgusted as Howard must have been by this visit to the Fleet, we find that the same day—perhaps with the vain hope of removing those painful impressions—he visited the King's Bench Prison. But there also profligacy and wickedness prevailed to an extent scarcely less flagrant. There was a wine club and beer club, and gambling, and a code, concerning which he says—

“There are besides in this prison, as in the Fleet, certain printed rules made by the prisoners themselves, ‘to be obeyed and observed by every member of *this college*’ (as they are pleased to term it). Many of them are arbitrary and improper.”‡

* State of Prisons, p. 182.

† Ib. p. 182.

‡ Ib. p. 211.

The next place inspected was the Poultry Compter; which, like the two last described, was crowded with prisoners for debt, and the scene of similar depravity and vice. But Howard's researches were not confined to the large and populous prisons like the Fleet, the Bench, and the Compter, which were conspicuous in the metropolis, and were generally known to some extent: he further ascertained there were small and obscure dens and dungeons in which the iron rod of oppression was wielded unobserved, and without restraint. One of these secluded habitations of cruelty was discovered in Whitechapel. It was a prison of some manor court, for those whose debts did not exceed five pounds; and the miserable inmates, notwithstanding such proof of poverty, were the victims of extortion or cruelty. Although unable to pay their just debts, they must pay their gaoler: 2s. 6d. a week was the price of a half bed in this wretched abode, besides various contributions in the way of garnish, &c. A begging-box was hung out in the street, but poverty—the very plea for soliciting alms—was really a preventive to its victim from any share in the collection. The prisoner must, by some means, pay his gaoler and his garnish before he could assert his claim to such a privilege.

Another small prison, visited at this time, was the Tower Hamlets Gaol. Here the “tap” and the prison were identical. It had been used for prisoners of war; but, at the time of Howard's visit, it contained only one debtor. The gaoler, therefore,

had turned landlord, and had converted his prison into a public house.*

It is generally necessary — perhaps reasonable — that men be convinced of privation and suffering endured, before charity can be excited or assistance rendered. Few will turn out of their track in search of poverty and distress. The *probability* of finding some wretched victim of destitution and disease will seldom induce even the Christian to inquire. Daily observation and the ordinary course of life supply objects enough for sympathy and alms. Surely Howard might have said the same. But he was a Christian possessed of no common charity: or, if its nature be the same in all, its measure varies. With our philanthropist the tale of woe need scarce be told to attract his footsteps to the scene: the *possibility* of finding sufferers, and of affording help, had power sufficient. In proof of this, we read in Howard's notes, that there was a small prison for debtors, called St. Catherine's, which he found *empty*. Yet this did not prevent another call: on four several occasions he visited it with the same result.†

The last inspected on this tour was the Borough Compter. And here he discovered that the gaoler had no salary, and lived by extortion: that neither chaplain nor surgeon visited the prison. It was out of repair; had no infirmary; no bedding; no straw; but the miserable occupants were promiscuously crowded together in a long room termed

* State of Prisons, p. 200—214.

† Ib.

the "Rookery." In this and some other London prisons were memorials of the charity of Nell Gwynn. To this she had bequeathed sixty-five penny loaves once in eight weeks.*

Amidst his travels on behalf of strangers, and those in prison, Howard was not unmindful of the duties which his home at Cardington imposed. Six weeks were now spent amongst his dependents and tenantry, superintending various improvements, and taking care that his schools and other means for the instruction and welfare of all were properly conducted. Not only were bodily health and vigour, so needful for fresh exertion, promoted by this temporary relaxation; but his spirit, so much in contact with crime, though not contaminated thereby, required this retirement—that, by secret communion with God, and by prayer and praise, its holiness might be sustained, and its energy increased. None but those conversant with criminals, and who are continually familiarised with crime, can estimate the injury to which the soul is exposed, even in the performance of duty, and amidst earnest endeavours to do good. The very depression which the acquaintance with so much wickedness and consequent misery produces, may become morbid and enfeebling; or, the familiarity with evil may have a tendency to create indifference towards it. More than one acute observer of human nature has put on record his testimony to this

* State of Prisons, p. 200—214.

deadening effect on the heart. Both Milton* and Pope† have reminded of such danger, in well-known lines. Habitual watchfulness amidst this danger, occasional separation from it, and constant prayer for the protection and grace of Him who alone can preserve and invigorate the spirit thus occupied, are especially needful. Howard is not less exemplary in this respect, than when most active in his labours of benevolence.

The gaols of North and South Wales had not yet been explored, and, having now inspected most of the important prisons in this part of the kingdom, Howard directed his attention to the Principality. His notes upon the gaol at Flint, which appears to have been first inspected, are dated June 25, 1774. There he found that —

“For felons and petty *offenders* there were two dark closets, the *black holes*; they are each 5 feet by 4, and were the only receptacles for criminals till a few years ago, when a dungeon in the yard was added, which is 16 feet by 11. This is down eight steps.” ‡

Women, we are further told, were occasionally confined in those dismal holes, which were too

* “———— back they recoil'd afraid
At first, and call'd me Sin, and for a sign
Portentous held me; but, *familiar grown*,
I pleas'd, and with attractive graces *won*
The most averse.” *Parad. Lost*, Book ii.

† “Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.”
Essay on Man, Ep. ii.

‡ State of Prisons, p. 410.

small for even one prisoner to recline and rest in. At Ruthin, which was next visited, some cells were found only *three feet* wide. The gaols at Caernarvon and Dolgelly were both insecure, dirty, and very offensive, the necessary consequence of their having neither water nor sewerage provided. Those at Montgomery and Presteign were in little better condition. Some event probably stopped further progress at this time, and Howard returned, re-visiting on his way the prisons of Ludlow, Worcester, and Oxford.

We have no account of the Philanthropist during the three weeks preceding; but on the 28th of July we find him again engaged in his benevolent research. His immediate object of inquiry at this time we learn from the Introduction to the First Book on the State of Prisons.

“Seeing in two or three of the county gaols some poor creatures whose aspect was singularly deplorable, and asking the cause of it, the answer was, ‘they were lately brought from the *Bridewells*.’ This started a fresh subject of inquiry. I resolved to inspect the bridewells; and for that purpose travelled again into the counties where I had been, and indeed into all the rest; examining *houses of correction and city and town gaols*. I beheld in many of them, as well as in the *county gaols*, a complication of distress; but my attention was principally fixed by the *gaol fever* and the *small-pox*, which I saw prevailing, to the destruction of multitudes, not only of *felons* in their dungeons, but of debtors also.”*

Having again visited Reading and Ilchester,

* State of Prisons, p. 2.

he passed on to Taunton and Shepton Mallet. In the former the gaol fever had not long before destroyed nearly one half of the prisoners, and yet the prison was not now kept clean, and no infirmary had been provided. Here and in some other gaols it is observed that a chaplain had been recently appointed. The bridewell at Devizes, though badly constructed, was clean. The keeper was also landlord of a public house. At Marlborough the prison is thus described —

“All the rooms are on the ground floor; and by a sewer within doors, they are made very offensive, especially the men’s night-room; in which, when I was there first, I saw one dying on the floor, of the gaol fever. The keeper told me that just before one had died there, and another soon after his discharge. Upstairs are three rooms for those who pay. No court: no water accessible to prisoners: no straw. Allowance to petty offenders, none; felons two pennyworth of bread a day.”*

Howard significantly but without comment adds —

“I heard the justices had viewed the *outside* of this prison.” Upon which his biographer, less sparing, says, “it is to be hoped for the credit of their humanity, though not for that of the faithful discharge of their duty, that they had never been *within* its walls.”†

Bath gaol was next visited — neither chaplain nor surgeon was appointed for the prisoners of this wealthy city. Debtors had no allowance. Criminals twopence a day. No bedding or straw. Thence

* State of Prisons, p. 339.

† Brown, p. 162.

Howard proceeded to Hereford: the bridewell of this county is thus described —

“It is quite out of repair. Indeed it is not only ruinous, but dangerous. In the day room there was a large quantity of water from the roof. No fire place: offensive sewers: no court: no water: no stated allowance: no employment: keeper’s salary 10*l*. Six prisoners, whom I saw there at my first visit, complained of being almost famished. They were sent hither from the assize a few days before to *hard labour* (as the sentence usually runs) for six months. The justices had ordered the keeper to supply each of them daily with a two-penny loaf: but he had neglected them. They broke out soon after.”*

After revisiting Monmouth gaol he passed again into South Wales. At Brecon was an insecure prison. The gaoler was allowed 30 guineas a-year to supply felons with necessary food. And Howard tells us that he “found the prisoners almost starved.”†

The new prison at Cardigan affords a more painful proof of cruel negligence than even the old dilapidated gaols, since the renewal of a vicious plan is worse than its continuance.

“This gaol, which is also the bridewell, was just finished when I was first there. Too slight a building. The rooms are low, and close glazed: no casements: a *dungeon* down eleven steps: all very dirty, and abounds with vermin, as is often the case where there is no water.”‡

At Haverfordwest were two low damp dungeons, in one of which a prisoner lost the use of his limbs,

* State of Prisons, p. 319.

† Ib. 425.

‡ Ib. 419.

and afterwards died. At Carmarthen was a filthy and offensive gaol, in which Howard found a number of idle and profane men admitted to play at tennis. The borough prison was in a worse condition; neither had any water, and this is described as "*full of vermin.*" *

At the bridewell of Cowbridge many had died of the gaol fever: the keeper and his daughter had lately suffered from it. †

Returning by way of Usk, Howard there visited the bridewell, where, he says, the keeper's wife told me that "herself, her father, who was then keeper, and many others of the family had had the gaol fever some time before: three of them and several prisoners died of it." ‡

Thence proceeding to Berkeley he found a prison much out of repair, and insecure. No allowance for prisoners. No straw. The smaller prisons at Bristol are reported as being equally defective. In this city Howard appears to have remained about a fortnight, probably again deriving advantage from the hot-wells, which had before relieved him. During this time he revisited the prisons. Thence on the 10th of August he passed on to Taunton and Bridgewater. The prison of the latter place was one miserable room, in which twenty-seven prisoners had been confined. The bridewell of Exeter and that of Bodmin were both dilapidated. In the latter place the gaol fever had been

* State of Prisons, p. 422.

† Ib. 428.

‡ Ib. 322.

very fatal, and not only in the prison, but also in the town.*

The keeper of the sheriff's prison, who had held that office twenty years, assured his visitor that during that period only four debtors had obtained their groats.†

A remarkable instance of an opposite kind was afforded at the next prison Howard visited—Lostwithiel—where a creditor, after making the allowance for two years, although poor, had provided in his will for the continuance of it, until the prisoner should be released.

At Plymouth the town gaol is thus described—

“Two rooms for felons; and a large room above for debtors. One of the former, the *clink*, 17 feet by 8, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, with a wicket in the door 7 inches by 5, to admit light and air. To this, as I was informed, three men who were confined near two months under sentence of transportation, came by turns for breath. The door had not been opened for five weeks when I with difficulty entered to see a pale inhabitant. He had been there ten weeks under sentence of transportation, and he said he had much rather have been hanged than confined in that noisome cell. No water: no sewer: no court. The gaolers live distant; they are the three sergeants at mace. Fees 15s. 10d., no table. Allowance to debtors, none but on application: felons, two-pennyworth of bread a day. No straw.”‡

One week after this shocking discovery at Ply-

* State of Prisons, p. 352.

† Ib. 353. — Act 32 Geo. 2. provided that every debtor should be allowed two shillings and four-pence per week.

‡ Ib. p. 350.

mouth we find Howard again in Dorsetshire, where he visited the bridewell at Sherborne, and rejoiced that the humanity of the magistrates had induced them to order that prisoners should ride to the place of their trial instead of walking with heavy irons."*

He then revisited the gaols of Dorchester, Salisbury, and Winchester. The bridewell of the last city he describes as close, and much too small. He adds —

“ This prison has been fatal to vast numbers. The misery of the prisoners excited the compassion of the duke of Chandos; who, for some years past, has sent them every week about thirty pounds of beef and two gallon loaves.”†

At Gosport he found the prison dirty. No straw allowed. He mentions a wise provision of an oven to purify the clothes, but, with a strange inconsistency, the county would not allow fuel for the purpose. The prisons at Southampton were in a worse condition — offensive; without a court; no water; no bedding; no employment.‡ The town gaol at Portsmouth equally defective; nor was that at Newport better.

From Hampshire Howard went to Petworth, where he found the prison too small. No chimney; no court; no water; no employment.”§

At Horsham the prisoners were confined in one

* State of Prisons, p. 343.

† Ib. p. 334.

‡ Ib. p. 332.

§ Ib. p. 231.

small room, and the keeper had died of the gaol fever.*

Two months had now been spent in these painful investigations ; and fifteen counties having been traversed, and about fifty prisons carefully inspected, relaxation was again necessary ; these scenes of vice, wretchedness, desolation, and death must, for a time, be exchanged for the virtuous home, and the peaceful, charitable, and pious occupations at Cardington.

Whilst the benevolence of Howard, his wise regulations, and persevering efforts to do good in his own neighbourhood, caused him to be loved by those immediately around him, we should expect that as the circle extended, and attention was less confined to the particular spot in which his virtues ever shone with especial brightness, men would observe that his philanthropy was truly patriotic : entirely free from that spurious zeal for the public welfare which actuated some demagogues just at this period ; that it was distinguished by loyalty, disinterestedness, and a sense of duty actuated by love, and which therefore sought to render service, not by appealing to men's passions, and provoking opposition to constituted authorities, but by a reasonable, earnest, and well-regulated endeavour to reform abuses and to preserve all that was valuable in our constitution and laws. Such characters the times required, and much to the credit of many inhabitants of Bedford, they had the

* Brown, p. 109.

wisdom to see that Howard was eminently qualified to represent them in Parliament. He had not returned many days from his last tour, when a large proportion of those who could best appreciate his worth, waited upon him with the proposal.* I transcribe the short but judicious remarks of Dr. Aikin on this part of his life —

“ In this year (1775) he was induced, by the urgent persuasions of his neighbours and friends of the town of Bedford, to stand candidate, in conjunction with Mr. Whitbread, to represent that borough in parliament. No two persons could be better entitled to the esteem of a town; and they were warmly supported in a contest which however terminated in the return of two other gentlemen. Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Howard petitioned the House against the return; and the event was, that the former, and one of the sitting members, were declared duly elected. To those who are acquainted with the constitution of that borough, it will not appear extraordinary, that a person possessing the attachment of a majority of the inhabitant voters should lose his election. This, however, was a most fortunate circumstance for the public; since, if Mr. Howard had obtained a seat in the House of Commons, his plans for the reformation of prisons must have been brought within a narrow compass; and the collateral inquiries which, so greatly to the advantage of humanity, he afterwards adopted, could never have existed.” †

* It has been asserted, that Howard was only supported by certain sectaries of Bedford: this is contradicted by his biographers. His opponents were Sir W. Wake and Mr. Sparrow; and it is reported that a clergyman of the borough (with more wit than wisdom) chose for a text at this time Matt. x. 31.

† Aikin's Life, p. 58.

Few in the present day would question the truth of Dr. Aikin's concluding remark, yet some corrupt practices and much apparent unfairness induced Howard with Mr. Whitbread to petition against the return of their opponents. As the hope of rendering service to his country, rather than personal feelings, had led him to engage in this political contest, so he would not relinquish that hope nor abandon patriotic plans because an evil influence had seemingly for a time prevented his success. He resolved therefore to pursue those means of redress which became a manly character and a Christian candidate. Yet, in prosecuting this scrutiny, he would not consume time which might be more profitably spent in the great work to which he had devoted himself; and therefore no sooner was the election declared, than, before the excitement had subsided, he again started on another expedition of mercy. He now resumed his travels through the counties of York, Lancaster, and Warwick, visiting the bridewells of Folkingham and Huntingdon on his way, — and inspecting the gaol at Aylesbury on his return. At this time it was a frequent, but most cruel, practice to confine lunatics in the common gaols, and at Folkingham Howard found a poor insane creature, who had been immured for some years in a damp place under the keeper's house! Nor was this the only indication of cruelty which this wretched abode presented.

“By a trap-door,” we are told, “in one of the rooms, you go down eight steps into a dungeon. No chimney;

small court; no pump; no sewer. A woman with a child at her breast was sent hither for a year and a day; the child died!" *

At Peterborough the prisons were insecure, and the provision for their inmates equally defective. Thence Howard went to Hull, where he found arrangements equally bad — filthy and offensive prisons without any court or sewer, and no allowance of either food, water, or straw, to their wretched occupants, one of whom was "a raving lunatic, and another insane." Justice and mercy were alike violated in these horrid receptacles: for "at Hull they used to have the assize but once in seven years: they now have it once in three years." Thus for any term short of that, the innocent might be consigned to languish in squalor, thirst, and hunger, without even straw to lie on, their rest forbidden by the screams of madmen; and should the wretched victim survive that time, the cruel injury might well be deemed too great for compensation, and none was granted. On the other hand, the most guilty might escape. Again, death might seal the lips of many a witness during that long interval, and thus even the murderer might escape with impunity. Such a case had then occurred. — "Peacock, a murderer, was in prison there nearly three years; before his trial the principal witness died, and the criminal was acquitted." †

Other prisons in Yorkshire were then visited

* State of Prisons, pp. 20. 289.

† Ibid. p. 373.

in succession; viz. those of Beverley, York, and Wakefield, in some of which Howard observed a regard to cleanliness—disease and danger might enforce it: yet even this was rare; “dirty and offensive” are the terms more frequently employed, whilst clemency and kindness were nowhere found. At Manchester a new bridewell had been erected, and some improvements introduced. The gaol for the borough of Liverpool was next inspected. The authorities of this town conferred the honour of its freedom on Howard upon this occasion. The condition of this gaol assures us that it would have been more gratifying to him, had they *imitated* the humanity they admired. Passing into Cheshire, at the bridewell of Middlewich he found some dark rooms, where, to prevent suffocation, there were “perforations in the door of about two inches in diameter.”* Thence he returned to Warwick. The county bridewell, he writes, was “small, close, and offensive; no water; the handle of the pump is on the *outside* of the wall.”† Howard might well be amazed at such an arrangement without any assignable reason. The town gaol at Birmingham, properly called “the Dungeon,” was very offensive; in the small court, besides the litter from the gaoler’s stable there was a stagnant puddle for ducks. There were above 150 prisoners confined here in the winter of 1775.”‡ Aylesbury gaol was the last he visited on this tour, where he found,

* State of Prisons, p. 404.

† *Ib.* p. 267.‡ *Ib.* p. 269.

that since his former visit—less than twelve months before—six or seven prisoners had died of the gaol distemper.*

We here again lose sight of Howard for another month, but when that period had elapsed (Dec. 6th) his labours are resumed, and during the following ten days he explores many of the prisons in Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Hertfordshire. At Chelmsford bridewell the prisoners were never allowed to go into the open air; pestilence, brought from the county gaol, had lessened the number of its pallid occupants. At Ipswich and Bury St. Edmund's neither of the bridewells was satisfactory; but the abominations of both were far exceeded by that next inspected. This was Thetford. Here was "a small dungeon down a ladder of ten steps, with a small window; and in this pit, at the Summer Assizes held in this town, from sixteen to twenty persons were usually confined for several days and nights without regard to age, sex, or any circumstances."† The other prisons in Norfolk, with the exception of Swaffham, appear to have been cleaner and better conducted than most. With the survey of the prisons of Cambridge, Ely, and Hertford, the labours of the indefatigable Philanthropist were ended for the year 1774.

Another short interval, the holiday-time of his

* A few years after this, the same distemper prevailed in this prison; and on the return of a criminal to his parish at Stoke, the disease spread and almost depopulated it. I have elsewhere described the particulars of this scourge. See *Prison Discipline*, vol. ii. p. 22.

† *State of Prisons*, p. 256.

beloved child, who probably accompanied Howard to Cardington, expired on the first day of the succeeding year. He then set out upon a tour of prison inspection in Scotland and Ireland. On his way he did not overlook the gaols which had been before visited, nor pass by the bridewells which had not been previously examined. Amongst the latter that of Southwell was visited, and here was a damp dungeon in which some time before seven criminals had died of the gaol fever.*

There can be little doubt that Howard made notes of what he saw during this excursion, but they have not been preserved, and we have in his works only a brief record of his visit. He there shows that his perseverance in well-doing was somewhat appreciated at Glasgow, where he was welcomed and entertained with much hospitality, and the freedom of the city presented to him. The magistracy, indeed, appear to have been in some respects more enlightened on the subject of his labours than in most places; for, in Glasgow, we find the following regulation—the first of its kind, although its propriety and necessity be most evident:—

“The gaoler every morning and evening at the opening of, and before the shutting up of, the prison, shall personally visit every room and place therein.” †

We have only a few incidental notices of Howard's journeyings in Ireland at this time. Some good regulations are described, and several clauses of Acts quoted, the provisions of which certainly

* State of Prisons, p. 282.

† Ib. p. 33.

might well have been adopted in England. Of these, one prohibited the sale of spirits or beer by any gaoler; another forbade the keeping of cattle in prison yards; and a third empowered the clergyman of the parish, in which there was any gaol, to order sufficient bread for the felons therein confined.* There was a further enactment for the separation of men and women in prison, but he found this shamefully violated in the chief gaol at Dublin. On his return he again visited the gaols in Chester; and, on seeing two *new* dungeons, is said to have shown his indignation by expressing a hope that their contrivers might be the first to lodge in them.†

The petitions against the return at the late election now claimed some attention, and called Howard to Cardington. They were ordered for consideration on the 10th of March, but postponed till the 14th, when, after several days' investigation, in which points of great importance to the town of Bedford at that time, but not generally interesting at present, were determined, the decision was adverse to Howard's claims.

Sir William Wake retained his seat, but Mr. Whitbread was declared the other representative in the place of Mr. Sparrow. This amendment of the return fully justified the opposition, and there

* State of Prisons, pp. 39, 40.

† Brown, p. 179. — In my copy of his Book of Prisons (second edition) this expression is omitted. Howard probably saw some improvement, or had some promise that there should be, which induced him to suppress the desire.

further appeared to have been some ground for complaint that the judgment of the committee had been much influenced by political feelings. Howard, with more candour than worldly caution, had, in strong terms, expressed his disapproval of ministerial plans, and so rendered himself obnoxious to the Government of the day. To his friend he writes on this occasion —

“I would acknowledge that Hand which ruleth the hearts of men, and turneth them which way soever He pleaseth. . . . I was a victim of the ministry. Most surely I should have not fallen in with all their severe measures relative to the Americans; and my constant declaration that not one emolument of 5*s.*, were I in parliament, should I ever accept of, marked me out as an object of their aversion. . . . I sensibly feel for an injured people; their affection and esteem I shall ever reflect on with gratitude and pleasure. As to myself, I calmly retire; it may be promotion of my best interest.”*

We are enabled to discern the wisdom of Him who was constantly promoting His designs of mercy towards the prisoner and the captive, by the various disappointments which Howard experienced. He himself, as we learn from Thomasson’s notes, upon reflection, saw that the event had been wisely overruled, and cheerfully acquiesced in the result. “He seemed to rejoice that it left him at liberty to pursue without interruption his investigation of accumulated sufferings in foreign climes, as well as in his native country.”†

* Letter to the Rev. J. Symonds.

† Brown, p. 183.

CHAPTER VII.

HOWARD'S MOTIVES FOR A CONTINENTAL TOUR. — ARRIVAL AT PARIS. — ATTEMPT TO ENTER THE BASTILE. — ALLOWED TO VISIT OTHER PRISONS. — THE BICETRE. — PROCEEDS TO BRUSSELS. — VISITS VILVORDE, GHENT, BRUGES, ROTTERDAM PRISONS, ETC. — INSPECTS THE PEST-HOUSE. — PRISON AT DELFT, AT THE HAGUE. — FEW DEBTORS AT AMSTERDAM. — REMARKS ON IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT. — EXECUTIONS AT AMSTERDAM. — NUMBER IN ENGLAND, AND REMARKS UPON THEM. — RIGHT OF PARDON. — OPINION OF BECCARIA AND PALEY. ✓ — TOO GREAT PUBLICITY OF EXECUTIONS. — THE EFFECT. — A PLAN SUGGESTED. — THE RASPHOUSE. — PRISONS AT BREMEN AND HAMBURGH. — INSTRUMENT OF TORTURE. — INFAMY PREVENTED. — CONVICTS AT LUNENBURGH AND HANAU. — MAISON DE FORCE AT MANHEIM. — CURIOUS AND CRUEL CUSTOM. — PRISON AT MENTZ. — LETTER TO A FRIEND.

By his energy, self-denial, and diligence, excited and sustained by Christian principle and charity, Howard had by this time ascertained the condition of almost every prison in England, Wales, and Ireland. He had not only made himself acquainted with the enormities which were perpetrated in many of them, but had observed in all the absence of any proper discipline. The repugnance of his own mind to the cruelties he had discovered naturally disposed him to believe that if made known to authorities they must be restrained; and if this were accomplished, then improvements upon what was defective would ere long follow. His philanthropy had been exerted in a new sphere; and whilst pursuing

his investigations he had frequent proof of the general ignorance which prevailed upon the subject of them. He determined therefore to publish the result of his experience, and to suggest such changes in the treatment of criminals as he hoped might relieve their miseries, correct their morals, and at the same time be conducive to the welfare of the community. But, as we have before observed, Howard would not risk success by precipitancy, and therefore, as he tells us in the Introduction to his account of Foreign Prisons —

“I designed to publish the account of our prisons in the spring of 1775, after I returned from Scotland and Ireland. But conjecturing that something useful to my purpose might be collected abroad, I laid aside my papers, and travelled into France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany.” *

Having at this important step sought the direction of Him whom in all his ways he acknowledged, animated with a holy resolution to sacrifice personal comfort, and patiently to sustain all the suffering that might be required in his mission of humanity, he embarked about the middle of April 1775, and proceeded first to Paris. Arrived in that city he gave immediate proof of the ardour with which he was prepared to encounter difficulties and risk danger. The celebrity of the Bastille, and the records of cruelty there inflicted, led many a traveller to survey its walls, to weep for its inmates, and to

* State of Prisons, p. 51.

wish he could relieve them; but when had sympathy or other motives constrained even one to venture within those gloomy portals, and to penetrate that frightful and almost certain passage to the grave, hoping that he might thereby assist some alien sufferer, or receive a lesson from which the criminal or the discontented in his native land might profit? Yet these were reasons strong enough for Howard. He tells us that the description he had given of this prison was —

“ Chiefly with the design of inculcating a reverence for the principles of a *free constitution* like our own, which will not permit in any degree the exercise of that despotism which has rendered the name of bastille so formidable. I was desirous of examining it myself; and for that purpose knocked hard at the outer gate, and immediately went forward through the guard to the drawbridge, before the entrance of the castle. But whilst I was contemplating this gloomy mansion, an officer came out much surprised; and I was forced to retreat through the mute guard, and thus regained that freedom which, for one locked up within those walls, it is next to impossible to obtain.” *

Whether there was presumption in this exploit, or whether the prospect of benefit to be derived justified the danger incurred, may be doubtful: it proved however that Howard did not value personal safety in comparison with public advantage, or the possibility of giving relief; and it is also pleasing to discern further proof of a patriotism, showing

* State of Prisons, p. 148. I have given Howard's description of the Bastille in my work on Prison Discipline, vol. ii. p. 356, et seq.

itself in its attachment to the law and constitution of his own country, no less than in love of the liberty they afforded. If the rashness of the hero when seeking the *glory* of his country be forgiven, who shall condemn one alike daring for its *good*?

The secrecy with which punishment was then inflicted in France threatened to prove an insurmountable obstacle to Howard's inspection of other prisons; but with an acuteness stimulated by benevolence he discovered that one article in the code for the regulation of prisons provided for the admission of persons who should distribute alms amongst the inmates. Concerning which he says:—

“Many of my readers, acquainted with the strict police of France, would have supposed that the other prisons would have been as inaccessible to a visitant as the *Bastille*. And indeed my first application for admittance at the *Grand Châtelet* was unsuccessful. But fortunately remarking the tenth article * of the *Arrêt*, 1717, I pleaded it before the *Commissaire de la Prison*, to whom I was referred, and by its means gained admission as well into that prison as those of *Le Petit Châtelet* and *Fort l'Evêque*, and had an opportunity of seeing almost every individual confined in them.” †

Although many of the prisons in Paris appear to have been better constructed, and their occupants were under better discipline, than those in England, yet, in some, atrocious deeds were perpetrated scarcely surpassed by any which Howard had before witnessed. A part of the Bicetre is thus described:—

* See Appendix, E.

† Foreign Prisons, p. 149.

“ In the middle of *La Cour Royale* are eight dreadful dungeons down sixteen steps, each about thirteen feet by nine, with two strong doors, three chains fastened to the wall, and a stone funnel at one corner of each cell, for air. From the situation of these dreary caverns, and the difficulty I found in procuring admittance, I conclude hardly any other stranger ever saw them.” *

From France Howard proceeded to Brussels, where he addressed the following letter to a friend † at Bedford : —

“ Bruxelles, May 17. 1775.

“ Dear Sir, — The very kind part you take in my affairs makes me flatter myself that a line will not be disagreeable. Since I left England I have visited several gaols in French Flanders, as almost every one in Paris; and, indeed, with no little trouble or resolution did I get admittance into those seats of woe, as at this time both at Paris, Versailles, and in many provinces there have been the greatest riots and confusion.

“ The military patrol the streets of Paris night and day. There are daily executions, one of which with pain I attended last Thursday. I came late last night to this city. To-day I have been employed in visiting the gaols and collecting all the criminal laws, as I did those of France. However rigorous they may be, yet their great care and attention to their prisons is worthy of commendation : all fresh and clean, no gaol distemper, no prisoner ironed : the bread allowance far exceeds that of any of our gaols ; *e. g.* every prisoner here has two pounds of bread a day, once (a day) soup, and on a Sunday one pound of meat.

“ But I write to my friend as a relaxation from what so much engrosses my thoughts ; and, indeed, I force myself to the public dinners and suppers for that purpose, though I show little respect to a set of men who are so

* Foreign Prisons, p. 145.

† The Rev. T. Smith.

highly esteemed (the French cooks), as I have not tasted fish, flesh, or fowl, since I have been on this side of the water.

“ Through a kind Providence I am very well, in calm, easy spirits; the public *voitures* have not been crowded, and I have met in general with agreeable company.

“ I hope to be in Holland the beginning of next week; the country, especially Flanders, affords the pleasing prospect of the greatest plenty; this dry weather affects them less than in other countries.

“ Permit me to remain, with affection and esteem, your obliged friend,

“ J. HOWARD.”

We have but few particulars of Howard's stay at Brussels: his time appears to have been spent in visiting the several prisons and hospitals of that city, and thence he made an excursion to Vilvorde, where a large prison was at that time building. Thence he proceeded to Ghent, where the *Maison de Force*, of still larger dimensions, was in part completed, and occupied by about 200 prisoners. In its management and discipline this prison far surpassed any the Philanthropist had before seen. He was indeed now in a country in which the proper construction of penal establishments, and the appropriate treatment of criminals, had for some time claimed the attention of enlightened and influential men. Somewhat preceding Howard, but now his contemporary in benevolent projects, the Count Vilain, prompted alike by policy and compassion, had written a work* on these important subjects,

* *Mémoire sur les Moyens de corriger les Malfaiteurs et Fainéans à leur propre avantage, et de les rendre utiles à l'Etat.*

and the vast improvements now in progress were in a great measure the result of his energy and wise endeavours. In this prison at Ghent every inmate had his separate night-cell, furnished with all that was necessary for cleanliness and healthful repose. At five o'clock during the summer months, and somewhat later in winter, they left these cells, and, their names having been first called over, proceeded to the chapel. After divine service they had breakfast, and at noon two hours for dinner, recreation, &c.; at night, supper; the intervals being spent in work, generally spinning and working at their looms: so that on this occasion and on subsequent visits it was, says Howard, "a well-regulated manufactory, and the prisoners were allowed one-fifth of their earnings. Cards, dice, and all gaming, were strictly forbidden, and there were excellent rules for mending their morals, preserving their health, and making them for the future useful in society."* Prisoners are confined here from one to twenty years. Similar regulations prevailed in other prisons at Ghent; but there was one sad exception—a contrast to so much humanity; it is thus described:

"There is a prison belonging to the rich monastery of the Benedictines, in the abbey of St. Peter. There were thirty-five of the fraternity, who have many lordships, and part of the city in their jurisdiction. The prison joins to the abbot's court-house. Three dreary dungeons down nineteen steps; a little window in each; no prisoners. I

* Foreign Prisons, pp. 134, 135. — Having recently visited the prisons of Belgium, I have described their past and present condition more particularly in my work on Prison Discipline, vol. ii.

went down ; but my noting the dimensions of the windows, &c., so enraged the keeper, that he would not indulge my curiosity any further." *

During this visit Howard tells us that he derived "no little pleasure when visiting the nunnery at Ghent, not inhabited solely by nuns, but destined to the reception of men who are insane, and sick aged women. The insane had, when requisite, assistance from their own sex ; and both these, and the poor women, were treated with tenderness." †

Bruges was next visited, and in the prison of that place he admired the great care taken of the sick, and spent some time in examining the prescriptions of physicians, which were strictly preserved. He also commends the particular record of all benefactions which he observed, some of which were dated as early as A.D. 1315.

During Howard's first visit to Antwerp he did not describe many particulars ; a more full account is given a few years later. From Antwerp he passed into Holland. At Rotterdam he found in the Rasp-house thirty-eight men—some were spinning, others rasping logwood, &c. The women, of whom there were about 100, "were all employed in spinning, carding, or winding a great wheel. The prisoners were clean, healthy, and well. The prison was white-washed twice a year." ‡

Incidental notices frequently occur which tell us that although Howard's benevolence proved as

* Foreign Prisons, p. 131.

† Ib. p. 132.

‡ Ib. p. 55.

extensive as his travels, yet his patriotic feelings were not thereby lessened. Whilst at Rotterdam he tells us that he visited the Pest-house across the Maes; and after giving the dimensions, he adds, in a characteristic manner, —

“ I mention this edifice, not only as it occurred to me that it would be a good plan for a house of correction, being airy, and built round a court in which is a basin of water communicating with the Maes; but on account of the sentiments of veneration it inspired, when I trod on the ground under which such piles of my brave countrymen lie buried; it having been used as a military hospital after the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom.” *

The prison at Delft was the next object of attention, and the following important notes were made: —

“ At Delft there were nearly ninety in the *house of correction*; men and women quite separate; all neat and clean, and looked healthy. They told me their allowance was five stivers a day. All employed on a woollen manufacture; women spinning, carding, &c.; men weaving from coarse to very fine cloth: their task, to earn thirty-five stivers a week. Some earn a small surplus; but they have only half of it. A burgomaster, to whom I mentioned that circumstance, said it was the truth. They do not put more than eight or ten men to work in one room; for when large numbers are together, one idle person corrupts more; and there is not generally so much work done. Here also, if a prisoner has behaved well for a few years, and given proofs of amendment, the magistrates begin to abridge the time for which he was sentenced. One whom

* Foreign Prisons, p. 59.

I saw very cheerful, told me the cause of his joy was that a year had lately been taken from his term." *

It must be remembered that here, as at Ghent, criminals were sentenced to many years' imprisonment, and the mitigation of punishment in such cases might be advantageous; but the same principle cannot without serious injury be applied to the case of prisoners confined for a year or two, or for shorter terms. Observation and facts prove that *certainty in the duration* of punishment is almost essential to permanent reformation. There must be no inducement to hypocrisy, or it will counteract all corrective agencies; no virtuous habit can be formed upon a foundation of deceit. On the contrary, should the prisoner thus assume a character and sustain it by his outward conduct, for the mere purpose of shortening his term of suffering, the very process by which he succeeds is a constant deterioration of the moral sense, and has a tendency to ensure the repetition of crime.

Howard's reputation now procured his favourable reception with every friend to humanity, and on proceeding to the Hague he found the British ambassador, Sir Joseph Yorke, ready to forward his desires and to facilitate his researches. Introduced by him to the authorities of the place, he was accompanied by a magistrate to the prison, where he says "*all* was quiet and in order." He obtained a copy of the prison regulations. The

* Foreign Prisons, p. 60.

inmates were treated with much clemency, and their allowance was liberal. The rules which related to the prison officers were especially stringent. Amongst others the following : —

“ If any prisoner escapes, whether by the immediate fault of the keeper, or the fault of the servants, he is to suffer the punishment that was due to the prisoner. He may not keep a tavern or alehouse ; nor play at cards, &c. with his prisoners ; nor accept of any treat or gift from them, directly or indirectly, during their confinement or afterwards. He must keep the prison neat and clean ; furnish fresh straw once a week, and in winter coverlets. The attorney-general, or his deputy, is to see that all this be duly performed. The keeper is to supply prisoners with good bread, soup, and beer.*

“ Neglect of duty, drunkenness, ill-language, and quarrels, were visited with severe penalties ; and not giving information of defaulters punished with discharge.” †

At Amsterdam, amongst many wise regulations, which Howard saw with pleasure were judiciously enforced, there were some objectionable practices. The prison is in the Stadt-house. The keeper was allowed to sell spirits, and to supply provisions — always a fruitful source of disorder when permitted. The small number of prisoners for debt surprised him. “ In this city,” he writes, “ they compute 250,000 souls, about one third of those in London, yet I find but eighteen debtors.” The causes are assigned : —

“ When one is imprisoned, the creditor must pay the gaoler for his maintenance. Another reason is, that the

* Foreign Prisons, p. 69.

† Ib. p. 70.

situation is very disgraceful. But, perhaps, the principal cause that debtors, as well as capital offenders, are few, is the great care that is taken to train up the children of the poor, and indeed of all others, to industry. The magistrates do not approve of confining in idleness any that may be usefully employed." *

The prudence which is implied in the last sentence must commend itself: but the above comparison suggests a still more important question; and that is, as to the policy and propriety of *any* kind of imprisonment for *debt*. Great advantage has resulted from recent legislation on this subject in the diminution of the numbers committed to gaol; but as respects the imprisonment itself and its consequences, although the enormities of past days are no longer perpetrated, yet a vicious and depraving system remains. The insolvent has become so either through misfortune, carelessness, or crime. If the first, then pity, not punishment, is demanded; if the second, lessons of caution are requisite; if fraud or an offence has been committed, then correction is called for, but neither of these accompanies the plan now pursued: it gradually corrupts all but the very worst. Associated and generally unemployed, the unfortunate become idle, the idle profligate, the profligate fraudulent; then fraud and violence are too closely allied in principle to be long distinguished in practice; and thus our debtors' wards are schools of artifice, and nurseries of crime.†

* Foreign Prisons, p. 53.

† I do not forget the recent Act for the recovery of small debts in

Howard had too much benevolence, patriotism, and piety, to overlook the cruelty, impolicy, and national guilt, of thus corrupting the innocent, and permitting the criminal to escape. He has left his protest; and all who witness the evils which have survived him, must pray for the accomplishment of the wish he expressed:—

“ I heartily wish that such an alteration were made in our laws with respect to confinement for debt, that none should undergo it but *dishonest* and *fraudulent* debtors. Such are criminals, and ought to be treated accordingly.”

The rooms for criminals in the prison at Amsterdam are described as —

“ Down fifteen steps, ten feet by nine, each for one prisoner only. There were but six delinquents. The allowance was liberal. One of the magistrates with whom I was conversing, said, ‘ Nourish your prisoners well, and keep them in dry rooms and they will be healthy.’

“ The condemned rooms have an iron door. From a book containing the names and crimes of all who have been executed at Amsterdam, from January 1693, to the end of 1766, the number amounts to 336: but only 25 were executed in the last 20 years of that term.*

“ Of late, in all the seven provinces, seldom more executions in a year than from four to six. One reason of this, I believe, is the awful solemnity of executions, which are performed in the presence of the magistrates, with great order and seriousness, and great effect on the spectators. I did not see the process in Holland; but it was particularly described to me, and was similar to what I

making these remarks; but, as I have elsewhere shown, whatever good provisions are contained in that measure, are frustrated by the *association in prison* of the offenders convicted under it. — See Appendix.

* Foreign Prisons, p. 63.

had witnessed in another place abroad. The common method of execution for unpremeditated murder is decollation by a broad sword. Robberies are generally punished by the halter. For the more atrocious crimes, such as premeditated murder, &c., the malefactor is broken on the wheel, or rather on a cross laid flat on the scaffold. But a description of the manner of this execution, which is finished by a *coup de grace* on the breast, would not be agreeable to any of my readers." *

We should expect that the few executions in Holland, when compared with the shocking excess presented by the criminal statistics of his own country during that time, would call forth strong comments from Howard on the atrocity of our penal code. Had he been a member of the legislature, there can be little doubt that he would have strenuously sought the mitigation of its severity, and the removal of many enactments which sacrificed human life for comparatively trifling offences. But when his volumes were written he felt that his duty was appointed in another sphere, and that his efforts must be directed to the preservation of his fellow-men, by seeking the improvement of those habitations of cruelty where desolation and death reigned, and their victims were more numerous than those sacrificed to the vengeful spirit of savage laws. Besides, he was, to a great extent, consecrating his life to the rescue of the innocent, who had the first claim upon his philanthropy. Whilst therefore no inhumanity must pass without a protest, he will not risk the success of the great work assigned him by hastily attempt-

* Foreign Prisons, p. 52.

ing too much. We again see the caution, so characteristic, in the following extracts:—

“From my own observations, I was fully convinced that many more were destroyed by the gaol-fever, than were put to death by all the public executions in the kingdom. I have a table printed from a large copper-plate, in 1772, by Sir Stephen Theodore Janssen, showing the number of malefactors executed in London for the twenty-three preceding years, and the crimes for which they suffered. In it will be seen that the total number of executions in London, for those twenty-three years, was 678: the annual average is between 29 and 30. I leave to others the discussion of the questions, whether those executions were too numerous — whether all the crimes for which they were inflicted, were deserving of death. And it may be left to any one to judge, whether, including debtors and petty offenders, the number of those that died in the several London prisons of the gaol-fever does not exceed the number of those that were executed annually during that time. I have not the number of executions in all the counties, but am well assured it falls much short of the numbers that perished in prisons.”*

The following is the table† to which Howard refers; and his remarks upon this and others appended to his “State of Prisons” afford traits of his modesty and humanity:—

“May I not indulge the hope that, many years after I shall be dead and forgotten, these Tables, being of a public nature, will be occasionally reviewed, and may have inferences drawn from them which will, in their consequences, contribute to *alleviate the miseries* of mankind, and *add* something to the general stock of happiness among the human race?”

* State of Prisons, p. 11.

† Ib. p. 437.

	Sentenced to death.	Pardoned, transported, or died in gaol.	Executed.
Shoplifting, riot, and twelve } other crimes - - - }	240	131	109
Defrauding creditors - -	3		3
Returning from transportation	31	9	22
Coining - - - -	11	1	10
Forgery - - - -	95	24	71
Horse stealing - - -	90	68	22
Highway robbery - -	362	111	251
Housebreaking - - -	208	90	118
Murder - - - -	81	9	72
Total - - - -	1121	443	678

Again he recurs to this subject when comparing the crimes of Italy with those of England, and observes that “arguments might thence be derived for the revisal and repeal of some of our *sanguinary laws*.” Well indeed might they be so termed; and abominable, surely, in the sight of Howard must have been the law which decreed death as the penalty for almost every act of malice, and often for mere mischief, such as the destruction of a tree, or the cutting of a hop band; which violated equity by avenging to the same extent the theft of a rabbit, and the murder of a man. The theory of Paley, which happily has been proved false by experience, was then in too much favour. The exposure of property, and the frequency of offences, had been thought causes sufficient for the sacrifice of life, irrespective of the amount of guilt. The effect of this was just what the same moralist at another

time remarked: "the design was counteracted, because it had a tendency which sinks men's abhorrence of the crime in their commiseration of the criminal."* Thus the malefactor was esteemed a martyr; and this sympathy with the sufferer, accompanied by aversion from the law, multiplied offenders. Then was seen, what further evidence has established as an axiom, that "crime thrives upon severe penalties;"—and so, every execution prepared more for the slaughter.

But upon whom was this unjust, impolitic, and cruel severity chargeable in Howard's day? Surely, upon those who framed, and, from time to time, confirmed those laws; not upon any who were entrusted with power to enforce them, and who would have betrayed that trust, if private benevolence had prevented their execution. The constitution of our country allows the power of pardon as a prerogative of the crown to be exerted when special circumstances shall justify its exercise; but not to be abused, to the virtual abolition of the law. Strange, therefore, that any biographer of Howard should have taken occasion, from the above comparison, to reproach the pious sovereign of that period, because he would not violate a principle, nor abuse a privilege, for the sake of the personal gratification which a grant of pardon to the guilty might afford. There is no single expression in Howard's works which can give a warrant to any one for the imputation of cruelty to that sovereign; nor did a

* Moral Philosophy, book vi. chap. ix.

disloyal sentiment ever escape his lips. On the contrary, Howard, though most humane, strenuously contended for the infliction of the punishment awarded. On one occasion, finding the right of pardon abused, he exclaimed — “Is it not injustice to individuals, and cruelty to the public, *frequently* to pardon notorious offenders?” And on this subject he adopted, quoted, and often commended the Essay of Beccaria on Crimes and Punishments; and few parts of that treatise would be more entirely approved of by Howard than the following remarks: —

“Clemency is a virtue which belongs to the legislator, and not to the executor of the laws; a virtue which ought to shine in the code, and not in private judgment. To show mankind, that crimes are sometimes pardoned, and that punishment is not the necessary consequence, is to nourish the flattering hope of impunity, and is the cause of their considering every punishment inflicted as an act of injustice and oppression. The prince, in pardoning, gives up the public security in favour of an individual, and, by his ill-judged benevolence, proclaims a public act of impunity. Let, then, the executors of the law be inexorable, but let the legislator be tender, indulgent, and humane.”*

I rejoice to think that Howard admired and honoured his sovereign — ennobled as that king was by the love of equity, justice, and mercy, to an extent which would not permit him to sacrifice either of those virtues through personal feeling, or to obtain public favour. His conduct in the case of

* Chap. xlv.

the notorious Dr. Dodd was most exemplary. The following eulogium upon it was well deserved:—

“As it is far more difficult to be just than to be generous, so also those will often find it a much harder task to *punish* than to pardon, who have both in their power. There is no one quality of the mind that requires more resolution, and receives a less reward, than that prospective but ultimately *merciful* severity, which strikes the individual, for the good of the community. The popular voice,—the tears of relatives,—the influence of rank,—the eloquence of talent, may all conspire to recommend an act of clemency, in itself most grateful to the sympathies of him whose high situation has privileged him to exert it. What shall we put into the opposite scale? The public good; but it *may* happen that the public themselves have signified their willingness to waive the high consideration of the public good. Here, then, the supreme head of the state is forced upon a trial almost too great for humanity; he is called upon to sink the feelings of the man in the firmness of the magistrate,—to sacrifice the finest sensibilities of the heart to the sternest dictates of the head,—and to exhibit an integrity more pure than the ice of Zembla, but as repulsive and as cold. Those who can envy a sovereign so painful a prerogative, know little of others, and less of themselves. Had Dr. Dodd been pardoned, who shall say how many men of similar talents that cruel pardon might have fatally ensnared. Eloquent as he was, and exemplary as perhaps he *would* have been, an *enlarged* view of this case authorises this irrefragable inference—that *the most undeviating rectitude, and the longest life of such a man, could not have conferred so great and so permanent a benefit on society, as that single sacrifice, his death.* On the memorable occasion of Dr. Dodd’s execution, Europe saw the greatest monarch she contained acknowledge a *sovereign*, within his own dominions, *greater than himself*; a *sovereign* that triumphed

not only over his power, but over his pity — *the supremacy of the laws.*” *

Amongst the sovereigns of the present day there is one who has given expression to sentiments very similar to those which have been transcribed, and proved the accuracy of this opinion. The King of Sweden writes thus on the royal prerogative of pardon:—

“ The law interprets the inflexible demands of justice, and the cold calculations of the understanding ; pardon, on the contrary, is a voice raised from the inmost feelings of society ; it is the inspiration of the heart. But this prerogative, the most pleasing of all those attached to the crown, must be used sparingly. Should pardon often be granted, disrespect for the law, and a less degree of fear for its precepts, are encouraged. We have seen, that Sweden is, next to Spain, the country in which capital punishment has been most common, and, nevertheless, during the last seven years, of the criminals condemned to death an average of forty-three annually have been pardoned.” †

Happily, the Christian principle which induced Howard to protest against sanguinary laws, has impelled others to labour with success for their repeal. The exertions of Wilberforce, Buxton, and others, have not been vain ; and the number of crimes declared capital is now, perhaps, reduced to its proper limit. Life is forfeited upon the conviction of a few heinous offences ; but the penalty of

* Lacon, vol. i. pp. 241, 242.

† Punishments and Prisons, by the King of Sweden, p. 11.

death is seldom inflicted, except for murder. God forbid that our laws, in this respect, should ever cease to accord with His decrees; and that any thing short of the death of the murderer should be regarded as the condign punishment for such guilt. In expressing these sentiments it is satisfactory to observe, that they accord with the wisdom and humanity which prompted the following expressions of the subject of our biography:—

“I would wish that no persons might suffer capitally, but for murder; for setting houses on fire; for house-breaking, attended with cruelty. The highwayman, the footpad, the habitual thief, and people of this clan, should end their days in a penitentiary house, rather than on a gallows.”

While we admire Howard's philanthropy, combined with the love of justice, we cannot always admit his inferences. He has told us of the preventive and corrective agencies which caused the proportion of criminals in Holland to be comparatively small:—suitable education, general industry, and the separate confinement of offenders, sufficiently account for this. The same cause which repressed minor offences, would reduce the more heinous to a corresponding extent. When, therefore, he ascribes the infrequency of executions to the solemnity of the scene, or to the revolting sight of the mangled corpse, we feel compelled to reject the conclusion. Paley and Beccaria, on this point, both agree in a contrary opinion; and in

another part of the same volume*, the subject of our memoir himself quotes the latter, that "the punishment of death is pernicious to society, from the example of barbarity it affords."† And in his appendix subsequently written, Howard deprecates the parade with which criminals were conducted to Tyburn, in the following terms:—

"An execution day is too much, with us, a day of riot and idleness, and it is found, by experience, that the minds of the populace are rather hardened by the spectacle, than affected in any salutary manner."

The argument, therefore, against the publicity of executions to the extent now practised is strong. It appeals to our own senses, and its truth is proved by our own experience. If observation and positive evidence declare the truth of Paley's assertion, that "such barbarous spectacles of human agony have a tendency to harden and deprave the public feelings,"‡ then surely the sooner such scenes become less public, though not strictly private, the better in every respect. Howard's works afford a further proof of this. When travelling in Italy, he described the executions as equally solemn with those in Holland, whilst the horrible exhibition of the corpse was of longer continuance:—

"After the prisoner is condemned, one or two of the

* Foreign Prisons, p. 100.

† Beccaria, chap. xxviii. p. 112. — The quotation might properly have been continued — "the more horrible, as the punishment is usually attended with formal pageantry."

‡ Moral Phil. book vi. ch. ix.

Confraternità della Misericordia come to him the midnight before his execution, and inform him of the sentence, and continue with him till his death. All the fraternity attend the execution, dressed in white. When the prisoner is dead they leave him hanging till the evening.”*

Do we inquire the result of this pageantry, and of this ghastly spectacle? Howard, but a few pages forward, tells us:—

“The frequency of assaults and assassinations in Italy is generally known. Many of the common people seem to be insensible of the atrociousness of the crime. I have heard criminals in prison express, by seeming satisfaction of mind, that though they *stabbed*, they did *not rob*.”† . . . “If we examine Janssen’s Lists, and the Judge’s returns, we may reckon that there are more murders committed in a year in the *City* of Naples or Rome, than in Great Britain and Ireland.”‡

Now a very remarkable and most instructive contrast, both as to the plan and the effect produced, is presented by Howard in other parts of his works. Describing Aix-la-Chapelle, he says—

“Executions are *not frequent* in this city. Citizens are always executed by decollation.”§

And in his second book, as though unconsciously impelled to assign the cause, he says, speaking again of Aix-la-Chapelle—

“It may not be improper to add that it (the decollation) is *concealed from the view of the public* by a scaffolding round the spot where it is performed.”||

* Foreign Prisons, p. 93. † Ib. 100. ‡ Ib. 124. § Ib.

|| Second Book of Prisons, p. 72.

The writer cannot forbear expressing an earnest hope that the day is not far distant, when, in his own country, a somewhat similar plan shall be adopted, when the officers of justice alone shall witness the execution of the criminal; and, for the satisfaction of the community, a certain number of persons—perhaps two or three hundred—shall be allowed to see, and sufficiently examine, the corpse of the offender, to identify his person, and remove all doubt as to his death.

Howard next visited the Rasp House at Amsterdam; a prison, in which about fifty men were confined. They were employed in rasping log-wood generally; but their labour was apportioned to their strength, and some of them were spinning. It was well regulated under the direction of four regents; and the *keeper* had the more pleasing title of *father*. No evil report was forgotten by Howard, nor repeated before the truth had been ascertained: here, he tells us, “on careful inquiry I learned, that what has been said concerning a cellar in which such transgressors are put to *pump or drown*, is a fiction.”*

“Prayers are read morning and evening, and before and after meals, by one of the best-behaved convicts; and divine service, with a sermon, is performed by a clergyman on Sunday mornings.”†

The Spinning House was next visited, of which the following account is given:—

* Foreign Prisons, p. 65.

† Ib. p. 67.

“This prison is for women. You see a number of criminals (about 40) some of whom had been the most abandoned, sitting in the presence of the *mother*, quiet and orderly, at their different sorts of work; spinning, plain work, &c. Hours of work from six to twelve, and from one to eight. I saw them go from work to dinner: the keeper, or *father*, as they call him, presided. First they sang a psalm: then they went in order down to a neat dining-room, where they seated themselves at two tables; and several dishes of boiled barley, agreeably sweetened, were set before them. The father struck with a hammer: then, in profound silence, all stood up; and one of them read, with propriety, a prayer about four or five minutes. They then sat down cheerful; and each filled her bowl from a large dish which contained enough for four of them. Then one brought on a waiter slices of bread and butter, and served each prisoner. The mother was seated at a desk (where she had a full view of her family at work) with a Bible before her.” *

Howard also visited what he describes as “a well-regulated *House of Industry* ;” which was a prison for those guilty of lesser offences, and in all those establishments the discipline was very far superior to any thing that he had witnessed in his own country.

Thence he proceeded to inspect the prisons at Utrecht, Groningen, and Leewarden, which, like those in Amsterdam, were large factories. In the first, he tells us that “the father, by permission of the magistrates, might take in as boarders persons of bad behaviour, at the desire of their parents, guardians, or relations.” †

* Foreign Prisons, pp. 65. 67.

† Ib. p. 72.

Passing from Holland, the first prison in Germany which Howard visited was at Bremen. It was for debtors, and over the doorway he observed the inscription — “*Hic fraudum terminus esto*,” an admonition very appropriate but little required, for no delinquent had been committed during thirty years. Nor were any found in other German towns; the reason assigned being, that it was both expensive to the creditor to pay the cost, and esteemed *disgraceful* to the debtor who suffered the penalty.

“At Hamburgh,” he writes, “the *felons* in the *Bütteley* were all in irons. The common method of execution is decollation. The executioner, who is gaoler, showed me the sword, which he said he had made use of eight times.

“Among the various engines of torture, or the question, which I have seen in France, Italy, Germany, and other places, one of the most execruciating is kept and used in a deep cellar of this prison. It ought to be buried ten thousand fathoms deeper. It is said the inventor was the first who suffered by it: the last was a woman, a few years ago.

“There, as at some other towns, is a prison for slight offences. The punishment, to be confined from a week to a month, and to live on bread and water only.” *

A circumstance connected with these houses of correction well deserves notice; they are considered rather as workhouses than as prisons, “*and not reckoned infamous*,” whereas those for more heinous offenders “*are accounted infamous*.”

* Foreign Prisons, p. 76.

As the most unhappy consequences often result from the loss of character, it is much to be desired that a similar distinction should be observed in this country, and that the lasting stigma of incarceration in a felon's gaol should not brand the mischievous child, the mere delinquent, or the man chargeable with some trifling offence, perhaps committed under strong temptation.

From Hamburgh, Howard went to Lunenburgh, in the electoral dominions of his own sovereign; where he found the prisoners working in chains, but in other respects treated with more humanity than criminals in England. Thence he proceeded to Zell. Here he was shown some instruments of torture, but was assured they had not been used for several years.

After visiting Hesse Cassel he passed on to Hanau, where he saw the convicts, somewhat absurdly termed *galley* slaves, employed in cleansing the town and neighbourhood. "They were distinguished as the *honnêtes* and *deshonnêtes*;" the latter being the more heinous offenders, and as such, condemned to the most loathsome, though necessary, occupations. The Philanthropist, always glad to discover and commend kindness, has immortalised their prince, by mentioning his benevolence towards these his wretched subjects, of which, he tells us, they seemed duly sensible. "I asked," says Howard, "one and another of the *honnêtes* who are employed on the road, whether they liked to be thus employed, or would rather choose to be confined in

idleness? They readily answered, ‘much rather to be thus abroad at work.’” *

At Manheim every facility for investigation was afforded. The *Maison de Force*, like others which have been described, was a factory — “Not one idle; yet though they work entirely for the house their labour does not maintain it. The rules and orders are good.” We cannot, however, suppose that the following practice was included in that sentence of commendation:—

“Prisoners committed to this house are commonly received in form with what is called the *bien venu* (welcome). A machine is brought out, in which are fastened their neck, hands, and feet. Then are they stripped; and have, according as the magistrate orders, the *grand venu* of twenty to thirty stripes—the *demi venu* of eighteen to twenty—or the *petit venu* of twelve to fifteen: after this they kiss the threshold and go in. Some are treated with the same compliment at discharge. The like ceremony is observed at many other towns in Germany.” †

The prison for felons at Mentz, La Porte de Fer, was clean and well conducted; only one prisoner confined in each room. We are further told—

“Most of the flour in the city is ground at a mill in this prison. The delinquents work at it two hours in the morning, and two in the afternoon. Over the door is carved a waggon drawn by two *stags*, two *lions*, and two wild *boars*; with an inscription explaining the device, which is, that if wild beasts can be tamed to the yoke, we should not despair of reclaiming irregular men. I saw the same *bas relief* at one or two other houses of correction.” ‡

* Foreign Prisons, p. 119.

† Ib. 121.

‡ Ib. 123.

This is the last notice we find of Howard's tour at this time, in his account of foreign prisons, but a letter has been preserved which he addressed to a friend *, from Bonn, the humility, simplicity, and piety of which, the Christian will admire scarcely less than that self-denial, energy, and perseverance in well-doing, shown in the events to which it refers.

“ Bonn, June 20. 1775.

“ Dear Sir,—I flatter myself a line will not be unacceptable. As one's spirits are tired with the same subject, it is a relaxation and pleasure to write to a friend; which indeed is my case at present, being just come from the prisons in this place. I had visited many in France, Flanders, and Holland; but I thought I might gain some knowledge by looking into the German police.

“ I have carefully visited some Prussian, Austrian, Hessian, and many other gaols. With the utmost difficulty did I get access to many dismal abodes; and, through the good hand of God, I have been preserved in health and safety. I hope I have gained some knowledge that may be improved to some valuable purpose. Though conscious of the utmost weakness, imperfection, and folly, I would hope my heart deceives me not, when I say to my friend, I trust that I intend well. The great example! — the glorious and divine Saviour! — the first thought humbles, abases,—yet, blessed be God, the mind exults and rejoices in that infinite and boundless source of love and mercy.

“ The state of the weather makes travelling not a little fatiguing. I have the pleasure of now coming homeward. There are many travellers at the first, or great houses; but these three or four weeks I have not met one Englishman. We are here surrounded with vineyards, so I must not say it is too hot; yet, I cannot help wishing for my

* Rev. T. Symonds.

refreshing bath. "I have spent some Sundays with the French Protestants. I love and esteem them. Though separated, yet truly united. I trust and hope we shall make one great and glorious body. In which wish, I truly remain, &c.

"JOHN HOWARD.

"P.S. I pray God bless you; and may many be your crown of rejoicing in that great and glorious day! J. H."

CHAPTER VIII.

HOWARD RETURNS FROM THE CONTINENT. — GAOL AT DOVER.
 — AT CHELMSFORD. — RETURNS TO CARDINGTON. — MORE PRISONS VISITED. — SHOCKING CASE AT PENZANCE. — HOWARD'S CAREFUL SCRUTINY. — SUPERVISION OF GAOLS REQUIRED. — LONDON PRISONS REINSPECTED. — NEWGATE, BRIDEWELL, THE SAVOY, THE FLEET. — REVISITS THE CONTINENTAL PRISONS. — THEIR BETTER REGULATIONS. — PARIS. — LYONS, ITS PRISON AND L'HÔTEL DIEU. — GENEVA. — FEW CRIMINALS IN SWITZERLAND. — GALLEY SLAVES AT LAUSANNE AND HANAU. — PRISONS OF SOLOTHURN AND BASLE. — INGENIOUS ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE. — PLAN AT LUNENBURGH TO PREVENT INFAMY. — PROCEEDS TO HOLLAND. — THE RASP-HOUSES REVISITED. — GOES TO GHENT. — INFERIORITY OF ENGLISH PRISONS. — RETURNS TO ENGLAND. — RESUMES INSPECTION OF ENGLISH GAOLS. — PARDON FRUSTRATED BY EXTORTION. — REVISITS YORKSHIRE PRISONS. — HORRIBLE GAOL OF KNARESBOROUGH. — PREPARES TO PUBLISH A WORK ON PRISONS.

IF, as implied in the foregoing letter, Howard thought he had acquired some knowledge that might prove valuable, but felt relaxation was needful before an attempt to derive practical advantage could be made, he had no sooner reached the shores of his native land, than his estimate of the light he had obtained upon the subject of his research was enhanced by the dark contrast at once presented. He landed at Dover, July 25. 1775, and seems to have visited the miserable prison of that town on the same day. There, dirt and drunkenness, ex-

tortion of fees, yet insufficiency of food ; the place insecure—but that the offensive closeness enfeebled its inmates, whose misery was sometimes mocked by the very show of mercy ; for, whilst, amidst the storms of winter on that inclement eastern coast, an allowance of coals was made, a place wherein to burn them was forbidden.* Such a combination of wrong inflicted, and wretchedness endured, so immediately succeeding the wise regulations and judicious care which he had elsewhere witnessed, must not only have excited the compassion of the philanthropist, and the shame of the patriot, but it forbade any lengthened relaxation, and told that little time could be spared before he applied the lessons of wisdom, justice, and mercy, learned in other lands, to the rescuing of his own country from disgrace, and to the relief of its criminals from their merciless condition.

Howard appears to have gone direct from Dover to Cardington, and we have no memorial of the employment of his time until we find him at Chelmsford in October. Thither he was attracted by a report that the distemper was making ravages in the gaol ; and, on his arrival, he discovered that the chief turnkey had died of it. The construction of the prison, and its offensive condition, caused it frequently to be infected with that dreadful disease. Its gaoler was a woman. Notwithstanding the food allowed was scarcely sufficient to support life, cruel fees were extorted ; and in its tap-room the absence

* State of Prisons, p. 229.

of all good regulations was accounted for by the abominable inscription, "Prisoners to pay garnish, or run the gauntlet." Seeing this, he was little surprised when, as he tells us, "it gave me pain to be informed that there had been no divine service in the prison for above a year past, except for condemned criminals."

Thus reminded of the sufferings and privations of fellow-men, rest became more irksome than the most arduous labour; and, after an interval of about a fortnight spent at Cardington, the friend of the prisoner and the captive — of all who had few friends beside — not regarding the approach of winter, nor the perils of a worse kind which always attended the inspection of a prison, resolved again to traverse the length and breadth of his native land, that he might explore and expose those scenes of oppression, wickedness, and woe, and afford succour to their distressed victims as opportunities might be offered. Leaving home on the 8th of November, he revisited the gaols of Huntingdon, Oakham, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, and Stafford. At the last place he looked over the county bridewell, which he had not before seen, and condemned it as dirty and insecure. A consequence of that insecurity was, the prisoners were never allowed egress even to its little courtyard. Leaving Stafford, he re-inspected the gaols and houses of correction in the counties of Lancaster, Chester, Salop, Montgomery, Radnor, Worcester, Hereford,

and Monmouth. He then saw, for the first time, St. Briavell's Gaol for debtors, of which he gives the following description : —

“ It is the property of Lord Berkeley. One room for men, greatly out of repair : no court : no water : no allowance : no firing. One of the two sickly objects I found there told me he had been confined a twelvemonth, and *never once out of* the dismal and offensive room ; the other almost as long. Keeper no salary. Fees 2s. 6d.”

After again examining on his way the prisons in Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, and Devonshire, he visited the town gaols of Falmouth, Truro, Penryn, and Penzance. The former were generally defective, but the last was worst ; and its walls confined a wretched victim whose woful condition is thus described : —

“ The prison is the property of Lord Arundel. The room for men has no chimney. Earth floor ; very damp. The door had not been opened for four weeks when I went in ; and then the keeper began to clear away the dirt. There was only one debtor, who seemed to have been robust, but was grown pale by ten weeks' close confinement, with little food, which he had from a brother, who was poor and had a family : he said the dampness of the prison, with but little straw, had obliged him (he spoke with sorrow) to send for the bed on which some of his children lay. He had a wife and ten children, two of whom died since he came thither, and the rest were almost starving. He has written me a letter since, by which I learn that his distress was not mitigated, and that he had a companion, miserable as himself. No allowance. Keeper no salary : fees, 8s. 4d. every action : no table.” *

* State of Prisons, p. 354.

A feeling of compassion towards men, however guilty, when subjected to so much cruelty, almost forbids regret when we read that they freed themselves from it by further transgression. This was the case at Penzance, Howard proceeds to tell us: —

“A year or two ago, five prisoners, I was informed, grew desperate by what they suffered in this wretched prison, and broke out.”

Having again visited Lancaster gaol, which remained in the disgraceful condition which has been described, he proceeded to Dorchester, in which prison he found the small-pox raging, and no infirmary had been provided. The prison at Salisbury was in a miserable state; it had neither water wherewith to cleanse it, nor any courtyard to afford its inmates a temporary escape from its pollution. At Winchester, on the contrary, he rejoiced to observe great improvement, especially in the strict attention now paid to the cleanliness of the prison and its occupants. Howard's advice, enforced by the destructive visitation of the gaol fever, had been carefully regarded.

The first day of the year 1776 was spent at Reading, where he now visited the county bridewell; and the following notes were made on the occasion: —

“This is also the town bridewell. It was formerly a church, and is a spacious room, with four small dark huts on one side for night-rooms. The county pays rent to the corporation. It is dirty and out of repair. Women and

men are together in the day-time. No court: no water: allowance to felons, three-pence a day; and to petty offenders, two five-farthing loaves each every Sunday, and one every week-day. Keeper's salary, 18*l.* from the county, 2*l.* from the town: fees 4*s.* 4*d.*: no table: license for beer: half the profit of the prisoners' work: 2*l.* a year to find them straw."*

After again inspecting the gaol for the county of Berks, he proceeded to the prison at Abingdon; of which he has left us the following account:—

"Two day-rooms; and two dark offensive night-rooms: that for men 8 feet square: the women's, 9 by 8: no chimney: no court: no water. The petty offenders were in irons. One lately died of the small-pox. Allowance, three-pence a day. Keeper's salary 18*l.*: fees, 4*s.* 4*d.*: no table: half the profit of the prisoners' work; but at both my visits they had no employment."†

At Thame, the next place in Howard's notes, was a county bridewell—

"The greatest part of it is a parish workhouse. For the prison there is a common day-room, and a small insecure lodging-room; and down eleven steps a dungeon, in which are three night-rooms, *the cubs*, each 9 feet by 7. If the whole building were used as a bridewell, there would be no need of locking up men and women all day long together in the same room; nor of confining either sex at night in the *cubs*. No allowance: no employment: no water: no sewers."‡

On the same day we find that Howard visited the county gaol at Aylesbury, and thence proceeded

* State of Prisons, p. 300.

† Ibid. 300.

‡ Ibid. 304.

to Northampton ; or, as the respective dates leave an interval of one day, it is likely that the proximity of his own residence induced him to go thither ; if so, his stay was not protracted beyond that period ; and, with persevering energy, the painful investigation was pursued. Accordingly, on the 6th of January, he visited the town gaol at Northampton ; and here a circumstance is mentioned, which, though unimportant in itself, deserves notice, because it indicates how thoroughly he searched those gloomy scenes, so loathsome, and in every sense, to others, so repulsive. “ The prison was without either courtyard or water. So,” he observes, “ the prisoners told me at the large grate, where I could see the room ; into which, for that reason, *I happened not to go :*” a circumstance mentioned perhaps in self-reproach, and accompanied with the apology — “ *it occurred nowhere else.*” * This faithful record of apparent neglect — this very censure of himself — speaks more, perhaps, in commendation of Howard, than all the panegyrics which poets and moralists have pronounced upon him. The omission of that which was never thought the duty of others, seemed to be a delinquency in him. They were satisfied with the distant survey, and the doubtful statement ; but he was ever ready to encounter danger, and personally to ascertain the truth. How entirely the authorities entrusted with the government of gaols forgot their responsibility, and disregarded the obligation, might be

* Brown, p. 214.

inferred from the very condition of them at that period. Some more positive evidence has been alleged in the foregoing pages ; and when the Philanthropist elsewhere strives to convince magistrates of the importance of such supervision, he first proves how much it is neglected : —

“ I have often enquired of gaolers, whether the sheriffs, justices, or town magistrates inspected their gaols? Many of the oldest have answered, ‘ None of those gentlemen ever looked into the dungeons or even the wards of my gaol.’ Others have said ‘ Those gentlemen think that if they came into my gaol, they should soon be in their graves.’ Others, ‘ The justices think the inside of my house too close for them; they satisfy themselves with viewing the outside.’ Now if magistrates continue thus negligent of their duty, a general, thorough reformation of our prisons must be despaired of.”*

A consequence of this negligence in their superiors was a general neglect in the gaolers. Referring to this period of his inspection, Howard observes —

“ In my *first* journeys many county gaolers excused themselves from going with me into the felons’ ward. In York castle the felons told me once and again that the gaoler had not been in their ward for months. I would not have quoted a report from felons, if the turnkey, who was present, had not confirmed their testimony.”†

Leaving Northampton, he visited successively the prisons at Daventry, Coventry, Chesterfield, and, passing into Yorkshire, those of Sheffield and

* State of Prisons, p. 44.

† Ibid. 379.

Thirsk. As respects most of these we have Howard's concise but shockingly significant description — "No court-yard: no straw: no water: no allowance: no employment."

The condition of the goal at Durham, with its sickly occupants, has been described. The compassionate visitor, when before he witnessed so much suffering in that close and crowded prison which had no court-yard, recommended, as an act of mercy, that a piece of waste land adjoining should be enclosed. Sympathy might well excite indignation when on this occasion he learned that the very person who should have enforced the proposal — "the surgeon of the prison, who was uncle to the gaoler, had obtained a lease of this land for twenty years at the rent of *one shilling* per annum; and had built a little stable upon it."*

At Berwick upon Tweed the prison had neither court-yard nor water provided, and the gaoler kept a public house at a distance. Thence Howard went to Carlisle, Appleby, Kendal, Wakefield, Gainsborough, Spalding, Wisbeach, Ipswich, Woodbridge, and Beccles, visiting the prison in each town. With two exceptions, he found those before inspected in nearly the same wretched condition. At Appleby, and Norwich, his suggestions had been acted upon, and great improvements had been effected. If his advice was treated with indifference in many places, and, as at

* State of Prisons, p. 33.

Durham, with contempt in a few; yet he saw some earnest of success, enough to forbid discouragement, if it did not satisfy his desires. Revisiting, on his way, the gaols in Cambridgeshire, Howard returned to Cardington. But his home was now but a temporary resting-place, — scarcely that on this occasion. It was visited because it came in the road he travelled, and no domestic concerns were allowed to interrupt his plans. We therefore find that on the two following days the gaols of his own county were reinspected; and this being done, the next day (Feb. 14.) he again started, and pursued his course through the counties of Hertford, Kent, Sussex, Hants, and Dorset. At Maidstone, and at Horsham, new gaols were now building; the latter, as we shall hereafter see, on a plan greatly approved of by Howard.

Thus cheered and encouraged, he determined to revisit the London prisons, and we find that the greater part of the next two months was spent in the metropolis. On his way he inspected the prisons at Windsor. That belonging to the Castle was out of repair; but a complaint having been made that exorbitant fees were exacted, the King had ordered they should be reduced, and they were now lower than the tables of other prisons showed were common. The town gaol was in all respects one of the worst. The gaols at St. Alban's, which he examined on the same day, were little better.

On Howard's arrival in London, Newgate immediately attracted his attention: considerable altera-

tions had been made, and a large portion entirely reconstructed, and he was anxious to learn what improvements had been effected. The following amongst other particulars of this important prison, with which so many events of painful interest are associated *, are thus given : —

“The builders of Old Newgate seem to have regarded, in their plan, nothing but the single article of keeping prisoners in safe custody. The rooms and cells were so close, as to be almost the constant seats of disease, and sources of infection ; to the destruction of multitudes, not only in the prison, but abroad. The City had therefore very good reason for their resolution to build a new gaol. The plate will give a better idea of it than any description. I give the plan, rather to satisfy the curiosity of my readers, than as a model to be followed. Many inconveniences of the old gaol are avoided in this new one : but it has some manifest errors. It is now too late to point out particulars. All I say is, that, without more than ordinary care, the prisoners in it will be in great danger of the gaol fever.

“The cells built in Old Newgate a few years since for condemned malefactors, are intended for the same use at present. I shall therefore give some account of them. There are upon each of the three floors five ; all vaulted, near nine feet high to the crown. In the upper part of each cell is a window double grated, near three feet by one

* One of the most interesting notices of the Newgate of former days is found in the 2nd vol. of *Latimer's Remains*, lately published by the Parker Society. It describes Latimer's conference “with Mr. Bainham, who after his condemnation was lodged up in the deep dungeon in Newgate ready to be sent to the fire. . . . When Mr. Latimer and others the next day before he was burnt were come down into the dungeon, where all things seemed utterly dark, there they found Bainham sitting upon a couch of straw, with a book and a wax candle in his hand, praying and reading thereupon.”

and a half. The doors are four inches thick. The strong stone wall is lined all round each cell with planks, studded with broad-headed nails. In each cell is a barrack bedstead. I was told by those who attended me, that criminals who had affected an air of boldness during their trial, and appeared quite unconcerned at the pronouncing of sentence upon them, were struck with horror, and shed tears, when brought to these darksome solitary abodes.

. . . . I went twice to prayers there: the few prisoners who were present, seemed attentive; but we were disturbed by the noise in the court. Surely they who will not go to chapel, who are by far the greatest number, should be locked up in their rooms during the time of divine service, and not suffered to hinder the edification of such as are better disposed. . . .

“There are several legacies for debtors, and the donation of Robert Dow, who left *1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.** yearly for ever to the sexton or bellman of St. Sepulchre’s, to pronounce solemnly two exhortations to the persons condemned, the night before their execution; in these words —

‘ You prisoners who are within,
Who for wickedness and sin,

after many mercies shown you, are now appointed to die to-morrow in the forenoon, give ear and understand, that to-morrow morning, the greatest bell of St. Sepulchre’s shall toll for you in form and manner of a passing bell, as used to be tolled for those that are at the point of death, to the end that all godly people may pray,’ &c. &c.”*

Howard’s next visit was to the Bridewell, of which, quoting Johnson, he tells us that —

“This building was formerly a palace, near St. Bridget’s (St. Bride’s) well; from whence it had the name; which,

* State of Prisons, pp. 173—175.

after it became a prison, was applied to other prisons of the same sort. It was given to the City by King Edward VI. in 1552." *

There were many excellent regulations in this establishment. The prisoners had a liberal allowance, suitable employment, and some proper instruction; but their wise visitor lamented that they were not more separated. He further adds in commendation, and with the hope that a feeling of shame might enforce compassion, when persuasion had failed,—“In winter they have some firing. The night-rooms are supplied with straw. *No other prison in London has any straw or bedding.*” Such a mild censure was well deserved; but on the following day, when visiting the Surry gaol in Horsemonger Lane, he had further proof that such cruel parsimony was not confined to London, or other large cities, where commerce is said to engross the mind without enlarging the heart: for in that prison he saw that not only for the healthful and strong was no straw allowed, but the sick and enfeebled had nothing better. Seemingly unpitied, and unprovided with a particle of bedding, they languished upon the bare floor in that merciless abode! † Passing from a place where his heart was pierced with the sight of suffering so neglected, he obtained some relief when at the New Ludgate he discovered that since his former visit an additional allowance had been made to the debtors of that prison. ‡ But on the following day his wounds

* State of Prisons, pp. 173. 191. † Ib. p. 204. ‡ Ib. 183.

bled afresh at the wrongs of fellow-men when he found that the authorities at Clerkenwell prison had raised the fees demanded of their impoverished victims from 5*s.* 6*d.* to 7*s.* * As though humanity had been stretched too far when the innocent were released without being compelled to pay for the injury they had received, injustice would now extort compensation from those who, if they had violated the law, had endured the penalty, and whose offence no longer subjected them to its claims. Again visiting the Surry bridewell † he found that its filthy condition endangered the health of all its inmates, whilst those by whom its destructive influence was already felt were then as much disregarded as in the gaol of this county. At the Savoy, a military prison which Howard now visited for the first time, he informs us —

“There were, besides the *black hole*, the *condemned hold*, the *cock pit*, and several other parts of this irregular building, which I pass over.

“March 15, 1776, there were 119 prisoners; of whom forty-nine were transports. I saw many sick and dying. The gaol was so infected by them that the distemper has been caught there by many since; and if it be not thoroughly purified, it will destroy many more. The whole is indeed much out of repair; hardly any part of it secure.” ‡

The Fleet was at this time revisited, and the iniquities before described still prevailed. A short tour of inspection into the counties of Kent and

* State of Prisons, p. 194.

† Ibid. 236.

‡ Ib. 201.

Surry was next made, and fresh scenes of atrocity discovered ; other wretched victims relieved. The bridewells at Dartford and Kingston are especially noticed. The horrible condition of the former had engendered that terrible scourge the gaol fever, of which some had died. It was in every respect deficient and faulty:—

“ No chimneys ; no sewers : the rooms dirty : no water : no straw : mats, but all worn out : allowance *2d.* a day. The keeper said they had had a bad fever, which himself and family and every fresh prisoner caught.” *

At Kingston the prison had been recently built, and was far better than most, but some of the regulations were very objectionable, *e. g.* a shilling was demanded from a prisoner when committed, before he was allowed access to the court-yard. Here was a prisoner just returned from the sessions at Ryegate, who stated that “ he and fifteen others were confined there two or three days in a very small room ; and almost suffocated. The keeper, who was present, confirmed the fact.” †

Although our indefatigable philanthropist was most careful in his investigation, and very cautious in recording what he witnessed, yet his earnest desire to be strictly accurate in every statement induced him not only to reinspect from time to time, and often when least expected, the prisons in his own country, but to revisit those on the Continent, that the least mistake might be corrected, and every

* State of Prisons, p. 227.

† *Ib.* 236:

additional improvement noticed. He therefore again left England May 25. 1776, and on the 1st of June we observe he was in Paris. In this city the general appearance of its penal establishments was very superior to all he had left, whilst the discipline pursued within them presented a contrast still more striking. We need not again follow Howard in his survey: it may be sufficient to mention the most remarkable points in the treatment of criminals which were preferable to plans adopted in England:—The gaoler always resided at the prison. The sexes in the prison were separated. Criminals were not kept in irons: suitable employment was provided: the diet was sufficient and good: health was much preserved by exercise. Infirmarys were properly arranged for the sick. No spirituous liquors were allowed: and all profane language was forbidden. And by the constant superintendence of authorities these regulations were carefully enforced. By giving publicity to these facts in his native land, Howard might reasonably hope, that, if no higher motive prevailed, a spirit of emulation would lead to the correction of those vicious customs, and cruel practices, which tended to the degradation and disgrace of a country otherwise preeminent.

But Howard's admiration of these prison regulations in Paris could not be extended to the provinces of France. On his way to Switzerland he tells us that he "found many prisoners in dungeons. In the four horrid ones at the prison of St. Joseph

at Lyons were twenty-nine criminals: the heat so excessive that few of them had any other garment on than their shirts. Some of them were sick; none looked healthy.”* But if the dungeons in this city called for severe censure, the large hospital he there inspected — l’Hôtel Dieu — well deserved commendation. Its construction was excellent, the various parts being well adapted for the treatment of different diseases. “The whole was clean and quiet. There were eight chaplains; nine physicians and surgeons; and twelve sisters.” He particularly mentions the “chambres de convalescence,” as an admirable arrangement which should be adopted in every similar establishment. †

In the little republic of Geneva Howard informs us that “in the prison, which was formerly the bishop’s palace, there were only five criminals; none of them in irons; and two debtors. For some years there has been no capital punishment.” ‡

Our benevolent tourist had now reached a country in which many sound opinions he had formed as the result of very considerable observation were to be confirmed by proofs which experience afforded:—

“In entering Switzerland from Geneva,” he writes, “a traveller will be surprised to meet frequently with a gibbet on the road, if he be not informed that almost every *seigneurie* has a prison, and possesses the power of trying criminals, and capitally convicting them. . . .

“In those of the cantons to which I went, felons have

* State of Prisons, p. 150.

† Ibid. p. 151.

‡ Ib. p. 106.

each a room to themselves, 'that they may not,' said the keepers, *'tutor one another.'* None were in irons: they are kept in rooms more or less strong and lightsome, according to the crimes they are charged with. But the prisons are in general very strong. The rooms are numbered, and the keys marked with the same numbers. In most of them a *German stove*. The common allowance sixpence a day. In some cantons there were no prisoners of this sort. The principal reason of it is, the greatest care is taken to give children, even the poorest, a moral and religious * education. Another thing which contributed to the same intention, is the laudable policy of speedy justice." †

At Lausanne Howard informs us that he conversed with an intelligent physician — Dr. Tissot — respecting the gaol fever, and felt how the reproach upon his country was merited when told that "he had not heard of its being anywhere but in England. I should not find it in Switzerland." An assertion which proved correct. "I neither found it," says Howard, "in Switzerland, nor anywhere else on the Continent." ‡ At Bern, he had "some discourse with the celebrated Haller on the same subject, and he ascribed the sickness in English gaols to their being overcrowded."

Here, as at Hanau, the "galley slaves" were employed as public scavengers. The following interesting description is given of them: —

"Four or five are chained to a small waggon, and draw; others, more at liberty, sweep, load, &c." Women as well as men were thus employed, upon which Howard remarks,

* See Appendix.

† Foreign Prisons, p. 108.

‡ Foreign Prisons, p. 111.

“I detest the custom of daily exposing that sex to such ignominy and severity, unless when they are totally abandoned, and have lost all the softer feelings of their sex.”

“All are known by an *iron collar*, with a hook projecting above their heads: weight above five pounds: I saw one riveted on a criminal in about two minutes. They work in summer from seven to eleven, and from one to six; and in winter from eight to eleven, and from one to four. I asked the men, ‘Whether they would choose to work so, or be confined within doors?’ ‘*Much rather,*’ they said, ‘*work thus.*’ The less criminal are in separate wards. They work within doors, spinning, &c., in a large room; and have not the iron collars. . . . I found a few miserable for want of employment. They are not suffered to practice *gaming* of any sort. Indeed this is forbidden to all the common people; as playing for any considerable sum is to those of higher rank. The keeper and turnkey are to see that the prisoners perform their devotions every morning and evening. The chaplains pray with them and instruct them on Sunday and Thursday. Once a month other clergymen superintend the service. No visitant admitted on Sunday. Thus a principal object here is to make them *better men*. This, indeed, should always be the *leading* view in every house of correction; and the earnings of the prisoners should only be a *secondary* object. As *rational* and *immortal* beings, we owe this to them; nor can any criminality of theirs, justify our neglect in this particular.”*

The prison at Solothurn, whither the philanthropist next directed his course, contained fifteen cells built with a species of marble which attracted his attention. That of Basle was constructed of a like material. We have the following account of it, and

* Foreign Prisons, pp. 109, 110.

of an attempt to escape not less ingenious than it was daring:—

“At Basle, the gaol for felons is in one of the towers. No prisoners; but many rooms ready with clean straw and blankets. Each prisoner (they said) has a room to himself, in which he is constantly shut up, except when conducted to the council chamber for examination. One of the strongest cells is in a room by the great clock, and is about six feet high: the trap door is in the flat roof: the prisoner goes down by a ladder, which is then taken up: his victuals are put in at a wicket on one side. When I was in the room, and took notice of the uncommon strength of it, the gaoler told me a prisoner had lately made his escape from it. I could not devise what method he took, but heard it was this. He had a spoon for soup, which he sharpened to cut out a piece from the timber of his room: then by practice he acquired the knack of striking his door, just when the great clock struck (to drown the noise): and in fifteen days he forced all the bolts, &c. But attempting to let himself down from the vast height by a rope which he found, the rope failed him; and by falling he broke so many of his bones, that the surgeons pronounced his recovery impossible. But his bones were set; and with proper care he did recover, and was pardoned.”*

Passing into Germany Howard revisited the prisons which have been already noticed. He records two or three fresh circumstances in the following extract.

“I saw no underground dungeons in any of the *new* prisons in Germany, except at Liege: nor indeed in any other *new* prison abroad. At Lunenburgh the dungeons are disused: and instead of them are built additional rooms up stairs; one for each prisoner. And in most of the

* Foreign Prisons, p. 112.

gaols each criminal is alone in his room; which is more or less strong, lightsome, and airy, as the crime he is charged with is more or less atrocious. One often sees the doors of sundry rooms marked Ethiopia, India, Italy, France, England, &c. In those rooms, parents, by the authority of the magistrates, confine, for a certain time, dissolute children: and if they are inquired after, the answer is, they are gone to Italy, England, &c.”*

Without commending this pious fraud, we might well take a lesson of practical wisdom from the arrangement. We have seen that in Holland petty offenders were preserved from the infamy of committal to the common gaol; and a sound policy, no less than compassion, must suggest that it would be well, as long as possible, to foster self-respect, and not to degrade the dissolute to the level of the felon. It is dangerous to tamper with feelings which have a moral tendency, and to take away either all self-esteem, or concern for reputation. Much acquaintance with human nature, and many examples, prompted the historian when he said “*famâ contemptâ, contemnuntur virtutes.*”

Hôward had seen much of which he approved in the penal discipline of Holland, and he now re-inspected the prisons of that country. Some alterations had been made, and the plan at this time pursued is described thus:—

“The States do not transport convicts: but men are put to labour in the *rasp-houses*, and women to proper work in the *spin-houses*: upon this professed maxim, *Make*

* Foreign Prisons, p. 74.

them diligent, and they will be honest. The rasping log-wood, which was formerly the principal work done by the male convicts, is now in many places performed at the mills much cheaper: and the Dutch finding woollen manufactures more profitable, have lately set up several of them in those houses of correction. In some, the work of the healthy prisoners does not only support them, but they have a little extra time to earn somewhat for their better living in prison, or for their benefit afterwards. Great care is taken to give them moral and religious instruction, and to reform their manners, for their own and the public good. The *chaplain* (such there is in every house of correction) does not only perform public worship, but privately instructs the prisoners, catechises them every week, &c., and I am well informed that many come out sober and honest." *

After revisiting the prisons at Ghent, Howard, in the month of August, directed his course homewards; and, at this point of his history, he repeats some of the motives which induced his personal inspection of these foreign prisons: —

“When I formerly made the tour of Europe for the benefit of my health, which I did some years ago, I seldom had occasion to envy foreigners anything, either as it respected their situation, religion, manners, or government. In my late journeys to view their prisons, I was sometimes put to the blush for my native country. The reader will scarcely feel, from my narration, the same emotions of shame and regret as the comparisons excited in me on beholding the difference with my own eyes; but, from the account I have given him of foreign prisons, he may judge whether a desire of reforming our own be visionary; whether idleness, debauchery, disease, and famine be the

* Foreign Prisons, p. 53.

necessary, unavoidable attendants of a prison, or only connected with it in our ideas, for want of a more perfect knowledge and more enlarged views. I hope, too, he will do me the justice to think that neither an indiscriminate admiration of every thing foreign, nor a fondness of censuring every thing at home, has influenced me to adopt the language of a panegyrist in this part of my work, or that of a complainant in the rest. Where I have commended, I have mentioned my reasons for so doing; and I have dwelt, perhaps, more minutely upon the management of foreign prisons because it was more agreeable to me to praise than to condemn. Another motive that induced me to be very particular in my account of foreign houses of correction, was to counteract a prevailing opinion among us, that compelling prisoners to work, especially in public, is inconsistent with the principles of English liberty; while, with a strange absurdity, taking away the lives of numbers of our countrymen, either by the hands of the executioner, or by diseases which are almost inevitably the result of long confinement in our close and damp prisons, seems to be little regarded. Of such force is custom and prejudice in silencing the voice of good sense and humanity! I have only to add that, fully sensible of the imperfections which must attend the cursory survey of a traveller, it was my study to remedy that defect by a constant attention to the one object of my pursuit alone, during the whole of my two last journeys abroad."

The reader may suppose that Howard's constant attention to one exciting and painful subject for many months, during which, without allowing himself any term of relaxation, he had traversed several countries, must now be followed by some temporary recreation: that his own concerns at Cardington and the intercourse of friends would, for a season, prevent further exertion. Well, then, may we

wonder at, and admire, that philanthropy which forbade weariness, and would not suffer a single day to elapse before he had resumed the inspection of gaols in England. Feeling that to loiter in his course would be to lose the great object of his life, he pursued it with an ardour and constancy which nothing could diminish or interrupt. In this tour he was enabled to trace many improvements the result of suggestions he had previously made; whilst in some prisons flagrant violations of the law still prevailed; and in others legal punishments were either wantonly or cruelly aggravated by the carelessness, or more frequently by the covetousness, of their ruthless keepers. He found with much satisfaction that many infirmaries had been erected—that cleanliness was more regarded—and that gaolers, instead of being allowed to “farm the prisoners,” were compelled to furnish an appointed quantity of food. Still there were cases of inhumanity in this particular. Amongst them, Howard found in the gaol at Carmarthen* at this time two poor creatures almost starved, because, having committed a petty offence, a fine had been imposed on them which they could not pay, and, having no possible means of earning money, their imprisonment was perpetuated. Monstrous indeed it was that the trifling offender should thus languish in hunger without the prospect of release, whilst the felon had his food allowed, and a limit assigned to his detention, beyond which it could not be prolonged! In the

* State of Prisons, p. 422.

prison of Wolverhampton the compassionate visitor remonstrated with the authorities against keeping prisoners in irons, which he found they did: "even those committed for the slightest offences."* At the county gaol at Nottingham many improvements had been effected, but there another case of iniquitous extortion presented itself, in which even the clemency of the crown was contravened by the cruelty and cupidity of the gaoler and others. A criminal was there who had received his Majesty's pardon."† But in those days such pardon sometimes increased the penalty. His term of punishment and the fees to be paid were both limited *before* the grace of pardon was extended. He would have been liberated, when the term had elapsed, upon payment of 14*s.* 8*d.*, but now he must remain in prison until additional fees, augmenting the sum to 3*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.*, should be paid. However, where the benign power of the Sovereign failed, the benevolence and pity of Howard was effectual. He discharged the debt and delivered the captive. At Cambridge‡, another victim of like injustice was found in the "hole," in the person of a poor wretch who had no allowance to preserve him from starvation, and whose life depended upon the occasional relief which charity might furnish.

Another of his numerous circuits of mercy now traversed, the Philanthropist returned to Cardington towards the end of September, and appears to have been occupied about three weeks in the arrange-

* State of Prisons, p. 312.

† Ibid. 280.

‡ Ib. 246.

ment of his papers, &c. At this time he received information concerning some small prisons for peculiar jurisdictions in Yorkshire, which induced him at once to revisit that county. No dungeon which has been described was worse — none more foul or frightful — than those loathsome dismal depths into which Howard now descended. At Richmond and at Ripon they were dark and wretched. These were for criminals: men deserving punishment, although a common humanity should have preserved them from its infliction in dens like those. But there was one for debtors: one into which not only the honest might be cast, but the honourable — the officer who had fought for his country, and deserved its favour, — in whom no fault was found, and against whom no crime was chargeable; but whose misfortune it might be, that he had faithfully served, and expended his strength upon, a country which afterwards refused a recompense that might sustain him; whose poverty should have been a claim to a higher pension, rather than have subjected him to the horrors of a prison — especially to such as that at Knaresborough.

“It is under the hall: of difficult access: the door about four feet from the ground. Only one room, about twelve feet square. Earth floor: no fire-place: very offensive; a common sewer from the town running through it uncovered. I was informed that an officer, confined here, took in with him a dog to defend him from vermin; but the *dog* was soon *destroyed*, and the prisoner’s *face much disfigured* by them.” *

* State of Prisons. p. 372

We may have been accustomed to think the account of the poet's victims of the dungeon only an exaggeration of horrors when he says —

“ The rats brush o'er their faces with their tails,
And croaking paddocks crawl upon their limbs.”

But surely the prison of Knaresborough proves truth to be more terrible than fiction.

Howard returned from Yorkshire through the counties of Derby, Leicester, Warwick, Oxford, Berks, and Herts, reinspecting many gaols on his way; and proceeded to London, where he engaged most assiduously in preparing his notes for publication—a work in which he was materially assisted by his friend and former tutor, the Rev. Mr. Densham, whose house was his home during this process.* This work appears to have been interrupted three or four times; for, on a careful scrutiny, he found that some places had been passed by when he made his second examination of the prisons he was about to describe; and such was his precaution and determination to be, as we have before observed, rigidly exact in every statement, that he would not send any one of them to the press, until he had, by repeated investigation and personal inspection, proved all to be correct — “ Nil actum credens, dum quid superesset agendum.” On one of these excursions he again travelled through Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. In the wretched prison of Wymondham he saw a criminal who was compelled to sleep in a mere pent-up closet (only 6 feet by 4) with two

* Brown, p. 239.

others who had cutaneous diseases, and always in irons.* At Hertford he found the gaol fever had carried off a number of prisoners and two turnkeys, and was still raging in the prison. After another interval spent in preparing for the press, he again went into Essex, and, subsequently, to Newport and Sudbury, where both prisons were in a miserable state. Another journey was made into the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, and Wilts. Amongst other injured sufferers he found a poor wretched woman who had been acquitted, but was still incarcerated, because she could not pay the gaoler's fees of 3s. 6*d.* It need scarcely be stated that Howard paid them for her—but let not the reader suppose he tells us so: only to show that nothing detained her but this cruel exaction he says,—“Those fees were paid, and the prisoner released.” †

Howard, toward the close of 1776, spent again considerable time in revisiting the gaols of the metropolis; but as we observe no dates in his account of those prisons between Dec. 26. and Jan. 8., it is probable that this fortnight of the holidays was spent with his son. On the last-named day we find him at Tothillfields bridewell, and two days after at Clerkenwell prison, where he compassionates a number of sick and miserable women, who were lying on the bare floor without bedding. “They complained of sore feet, which, the turnkey said, were quite black.” ‡

* State of Prisons, p. 252.

† *Ib.* p. 360.

‡ *Ib.* p. 197.

CHAPTER IX.

HOWARD GOES TO WARRINGTON.—SUPERINTENDS THE PRINTING OF HIS “STATE OF PRISONS.”—HIS HABITS OF ABSTINENCE AND PIETY.—HIS DETERMINED ACCURACY.—PUBLICATION, DEDICATION, AND DISTRIBUTION OF HIS WORK.—SUMMARY OF THE SAME.—MODE OF TRAVELLING; CONDUCT AT HOTELS; HIS POSTILIONS CORRECTED.—FURTHER IMPROVEMENTS AT CARDINGTON.—HIS SON AT HOME.—DEATH OF HIS SISTER.—MEMORANDA OF RELIGIOUS FEELINGS.—THE HULKS VISITED.—THEIR SHOCKING CONDITION.—MORTALITY OF CONVICTS.—THE TRANSPORTATION QUESTION.—EVILS OF FORMER SYSTEMS.—COLONIES DEGRADED.—CONVICTS REJECTED: A JUST RETRIBUTION.—PRESENT TREATMENT OF CONVICTS.—CELLULAR IMPRISONMENT.—LABOUR ON PUBLIC WORKS.—ESTABLISHMENT AT PORTLAND.—THE CONVICT TRANSPORTED.—TICKET OF LEAVE.—HIS CONDITIONAL PARDON.—EMIGRATION OF HIS FAMILY.—PROMISING RESULTS.

By patient perseverance and oft-repeated investigations, which had occupied three years of his life, and cost him the exertion of travelling upwards of ten thousand miles, Howard, having now satisfied himself that his notes upon the vast number of prisons he had visited would bear the most severe scrutiny, resolved to print them. For this purpose he went to Warrington, where his friend Mr. Aikin was, at that time, in practice as a surgeon. The following extract from the sketch of Howard's life written by that celebrated man will be read with

interest, as describing circumstances attending the publication of a work which, perhaps, was more effective in the prevention of cruelty, the relief of the wretched, and the restraining of vice, than any other uninspired volume ever given to the world:—

“ He chose the press of Mr. Eyres, at Warrington, induced by various elegant specimens which had issued from it, and by the opportunity a country press afforded of having the work done under his own inspection, at his own time, and with all the minute accuracy of correction he determined to bestow on it. I may also say, that an opinion of the advantage he might there enjoy of some literary assistance in the revision and improvement of his papers, was a farther motive. To this choice I was indebted for that intimate personal acquaintance with him which I shall ever esteem one of the most honourable circumstances of my life, and the lively recollection of which will, I trust, never quit me while memory remains. He resided in Warrington during the whole time of printing, and his attention to business was most indefatigable. During a very severe winter he made it his practice to rise at three or four in the morning, for the purpose of collating every word and figure of his daily proof-sheet with the original.

“ As I thought it right to mention Mr. Howard’s literary deficiencies, it is become necessary to inform the public of the manner in which his works were composed. On his return from his tours he took all his memorandum books to an old retired friend of his, who assisted him in methodising them, and copied out the whole matter in correct language. They were then put into the hands of Dr. Price, from whom they underwent a revision, and received occasionally considerable alterations. What Mr. Howard himself thought of the advantages they derived from his assistance, will appear from the following passages

in letters to Dr. Price. 'I am ashamed to think how much I have accumulated your labours, yet I glory in that assistance to which I owe so much credit in the world, and, under Providence, success in my endeavours.' . . . 'It is from your kind aid and assistance, my dear friend, that I derive so much of my character and influence. I exult in declaring it, and shall carry a grateful sense of it to the last hour of my existence.' With his papers thus corrected, he came to the press at Warrington; and first he read them all over carefully with me, which perusal was repeated, sheet by sheet, as they were printed. As new facts and observations were continually suggesting themselves to his mind, he put the matter of them upon paper as they occurred, and then requested me to clothe them in such expressions as I thought proper. On these occasions, such was his diffidence, that I found it difficult to make him acquiesce in his own language when, as frequently happened, it was unexceptionable." *

Thomasson, who has been already spoken of as the early attendant of his beloved child, and who was in consequence Howard's favourite servant, in the rough journal which he kept, recorded some interesting particulars of his master at this period. He informs us that lodgings were taken very near to the printer's shop; that although the winter was so severe, yet the self-denying author, who did not retire to rest till past ten, rose earlier than Dr. Aikin has described: Thomasson, who surely remembered the task, was enjoined to call him every morning at *two o'clock*, because in the stillness of that time he could best revise his proof-sheets. At seven he dressed: breakfast was finished by eight; and at

* Aikin, pp. 62—66.

that hour the author was more punctual in his attendance at the printing-office than the compositor. There he remained several hours in the day ; but, leaving with the workmen at one o'clock, he commonly took a stroll in the outskirts of the town, having first stored his pocket with bread and dried fruit, which, with a glass of cold water, was his dinner-fare. The evening was spent with Mr. Aikin, or with some one of the few friends which the little town afforded. On returning to his lodgings, and after taking a little tea or coffee, he retired for his short night's rest. Yet, before this, there was a duty never omitted. What though his establishment had been broken up, and he had no solemn account to render of the way in which his household was ordered in the fear of God, or his domestics instructed in those truths of religion which, whilst they enforce a holy faithfulness to a Heavenly Master, most surely promote fidelity and affectionate service to those on earth ;—yet there was one with him for whom he felt himself responsible, and over whose welfare he must watch. Howard never so much dishonoured God, or disregarded the chief good of man, as to neglect family prayer whilst he had a home wherein to offer it ; or he had not been so honoured himself. And now that one servant waited on him, he must also worship with him. Wherever they went it was the same. Howard said, “ If I have a tent, God shall have an altar ;” and, accordingly, Thomasson was always told to come at a given time, when the door

was fastened, and no interruption suffered before their devotions were ended. What wonder that the servant revered and loved his master, and that the remembrance of such united prayer prompted the expression — "Very few knew the goodness of this man's heart!"

Whilst Howard was thus sedulous in the superintendence of his publication, and very anxious for its completion, he learned that there had been a manorial gaol at Houlton Castle, which, though it had not been occupied for many years, was still a prison. Resolved, therefore, that his work should be as perfect as possible, he suspended the printing until he had inspected this secluded spot. An inscription told its purpose; and two dungeons, long disused, had formed the prison. The bridewell, part of the workhouse, in the town of Warrington was also visited; but that too was empty.

In a fortnight after those visits the book was finished. It was dated from Cardington on the 5th of April, 1777, and dedicated "to the House of Commons, in gratitude for the encouragement which they had given to the design, and for the honour they had conferred on the author." We further learn from Dr. Aikin that —

"So zealous was Mr. Howard to diffuse information, and so determined to obviate any idea that he meant to repay his expenses by the profitable trade of *book-making*, that, besides the profuse munificence in presenting copies to all the principal persons in the kingdom, and all his particular friends, he insisted on fixing the price of the volume so

low, that, had every copy been sold, he would still have presented the public with all the plates, and great part of the printing. And this practice he followed in all his subsequent publications; so that, with literal propriety, he may be said to have *given* them to the world. By the large expenses of his journeys, charities, and publications, he has made himself even a greater *pecuniary* benefactor to mankind than can readily be paralleled in any age or country, his proportionate circumstances considered. Yet how small a part was this of the sacrifices he made !” *

Of this volume much has been already given, and reference to it must again be made: its contents are various, and of universal interest. The alleviation of woe and the correction of vice were its great objects. The first section gives a general view of “distress in prisons;” and its prevalency being fully proved, the Philanthropist proceeds to point out the remedies, and to plead for their administration. At the conclusion of the first section is a remonstrance, which might have been offensive from others, although spoken in the spirit of meekness; but the ardour, self-denial, and indefatigable exertions of Howard gave him authority to reprove, and the right was recognised. He could speak with sympathy, for he himself had suffered; from experience, for he had explored the dungeons of wretchedness and fathomed the depths of woe!

“Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.”

Such might well be his motto; and men in general, knowing the truth, admired his motives, and, if

* Aikin, p. 61.

they would not imitate his conduct, submitted to his reproofs. Some, following his advice, partook of his spirit, and proved the quality of that mercy which prompted it;—being blessed themselves, they became a blessing to many.

“Those gentlemen who, when they are told of the misery which our prisoners suffer, content themselves with saying, *Let them take care to keep out*, prefaced perhaps with an angry prayer, seem not duly sensible of the favour of Providence which distinguishes them from the sufferers: they do not remember that we are required to imitate our gracious Heavenly Parent, who is ‘*kind to the unthankful and the evil.*’ They also forget the vicissitudes of human affairs; the unexpected changes to which all men are liable; and that those whose circumstances are affluent, may in time be reduced to indigence, and become debtors and prisoners.”

After thus deprecating the cruel indifference which had prevailed, Howard proceeds with suggestions for the improvement of gaols, and strongly enforces not only the necessary expenditure, but constant supervision:—

“Among justices there may always be found one man generous enough to undertake this important service. He should make his visit once a week, or at most in a fortnight, changing his days. He should speak with every prisoner; hear all complaints; and immediately correct what he finds manifestly wrong: what he doubts of, he may refer to his brethren in office, at their next meeting. A good gaoler will be pleased with this scrutiny: it will do him honour, and confirm him in his station. In case of a less worthy

* State of Prisons, p. 15.

gaoler, the examination is more needful, in order to his being reprimanded; and, if he be incorrigible, to his being discharged. This honourable delegate should have *no salary*: he should engage from the noble motive of doing justice to prisoners, and service to his country.”*

Howard’s recommendations are concluded by declaring it as his belief that a Parliamentary inquiry was necessary to the effectual reformation of prisons, and he closes the volume by saying —

“Should this be undertaken, I would cheerfully (relying still on the protection of that KIND HAND which has hitherto preserved me, and to which I desire to offer my most thankful acknowledgments!) devote my time to one more extensive foreign journey, in which the Prussian and Austrian territories, and the most considerable free cities of Germany, would probably afford some new and useful lights on this IMPORTANT NATIONAL CONCERN.”

The abstemiousness and persevering industry which distinguished Howard, and have probably surprised the reader, were almost equally remarkable on all occasions. His biographer observes —

“The following account of his mode of travelling, communicated to me by a gentleman in Dublin, who had much free conversation with him, and the substance of which I well recollect to have heard from himself, will, I doubt not, prove interesting. When he travelled in England or Ireland, it was generally on horseback, and he rode about forty English miles a day. He was never at a loss for an inn. When in Ireland, or the Highlands of Scotland, he used to stop at one of the poor cabins that stick up a rag

* *State of Prisons*, p. 43.

by way of a sign, and get a little milk. When he came to the town he was to sleep at, he bespoke a supper, with wine and beer, like another traveller, but made his man attend him and take it away whilst he was preparing his bread and milk. He always paid the waiters, postilions, &c. liberally, because he would have no discontent or dispute, nor suffer his spirits to be agitated for such a matter; saying that in a journey that might cost three or four hundred pounds, fifteen or twenty pounds addition was not worth thinking about." *

Another interesting particular of his plans pursued whilst travelling illustrates the combined firmness and benevolence of his character: —

“Mr. Howard observed, that he had found few things more difficult to manage than postchaise drivers, who would seldom comply with his wishes of going slow or fast, till he adopted the following method. At the end of a stage, when the driver had been perverse, he desired the landlord to send for some poor industrious widow, or other proper object of charity, and to introduce such person and the driver together. He then paid the latter his fare, and told him, that as he had not thought proper to attend to his repeated requests as to the manner of being driven, he should not make him any present; but, to show him that he did not withhold it out of a principle of parsimony, he would give the poor person present *double the sum* usually given to a postilion. This he did, and dismissed the parties. He had not long practised this mode, he said, before he experienced the good effects of it on all the roads where he was known.” †

When Howard had printed and distributed his

* Aikin, p. 224.

† Ibid. p. 218.

"State of Prisons," &c., he retired for a time to Cardington, where he again enjoyed the intercourse of his friends, erected more cottages on his estate, and carefully superintended the schools, which were in a prosperous condition. His son, as proved by Howard's letters, had been ever present to his mind, but he was now able to receive him to his paternal home for a short period; and many were the signs which those around him could discern of the constancy and sincerity of his affection towards him. But the spirits of that child, we are told, were buoyant, and his disposition volatile.* The father, on the contrary, when cheerful, was sedate; when most lively, somewhat stern. His inflexible purpose — still enforced by the apparent frowns of authority, rather than by the smiles of parental affection — was always accomplished, but often at the expense of love. He demanded obedience and secured submission, yet it was at the costly sacrifice of filial attachment. The bonds of restraint were still formed by fear, and therefore, although effective for a time, were continually weakened by straining, and were the more sure to burst asunder at some time, as the attempt to strengthen them increased. But let us not anticipate a tale of sorrow. Young Howard was at this time sent to an academy at Daventry, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Robins.†

On the 12th day of August, Howard's only sister

* Brown, p. 258.

† Gent. Mag., April, 1790.

died. Of her history few particulars have survived her. She bequeathed to her brother the whole of her property — amounting to about 20,000*l.*, an accession to his income which he esteemed providential, because it enabled him to pursue and extend his plans of charity, without encumbering the patrimonial estate, or in any way impoverishing his son. Here, however, the restless voice of slander has been raised; and an invidious writer, with a malignity as apparent as the reproach was false, has endeavoured to detract from the excellence even of Howard, by insinuating that both the aunt and the parent were regardless of the prospects of the child. The father was, however, fully justified, and felt, as indeed he occasionally affirmed, thankful that he could increase his benevolent efforts with the satisfaction of knowing that, beside the estate which the son would inherit, ample provision was made for him from other sources.

Of Howard's Christian attainments and his spiritual condition at this time we have pleasing testimony in a memorandum book, which, amongst other papers, was preserved by his servant. It contains many indications of humility, religious fervour, steadfastness of faith and habitual holiness of life. There was a reality and an energy in his piety, constantly enlivened and invigorated by the Divine Spirit which dwelt within him — that Spirit often prompting holy ejaculations; and thus amidst the common intercourse with men he communed

with his God, and grew in grace. There is simplicity in his expressions and prayers; and they are exactly suited to his circumstances, whilst devoting himself to his arduous labours. "Let me not forget," he writes at the beginning of this book, "that time is always on the wing: that my account is every moment hastening on." Somewhat further on there is proof that this was not a mere sentiment of no practical effect, but a perception of truth exciting prayer and pious resolutions: —

"O my soul! seek the Lord while He may be found, call upon Him! consider well thy sacred engagements, be not conformed to this world; die unto sin; live unto righteousness! Think upon those things which belong unto thy everlasting peace, for thou art dead, and thy life is hid with Christ in God! Let every darling sin be removed; for sin is enmity to God; and put on bowels of mercy! Shew thyself the servant of Christ! O my God! set these sacred things home on my heart; and after the great things Thou hast done in and by me, let not the poor, weak, helpless instrument be lost and cast into the fire; but, O God! for Christ's sake, make me an everlasting monument of Thy grace, and to Thee be all the praise!"

He could not doubt, as the above extract implies, that God was rendering him the instrument of effecting "great things;" and whilst he acknowledged this with gratitude, and gave Him the glory, he prayed that his efforts might always proceed from right principles, and be regulated by the Divine governance: hence the petition —

“ May I see the wisdom and feel the power of God in the Gospel, making me to do good, and to promote the temporal and eternal interest of men ! ”

Well might a Christian thus watchful over his motives, and so constant in the use of means, resolve to persevere in hope, whilst depending upon Almighty power for help ! The following entry declares his resolution and his reliance : —

“ Ere long my work shall be at an end. Let me not grow weary in well-doing, for I shall reap if I faint not. Hold THOU up my goings ! ”

In distributing his publication on the “ State of Prisons,” Howard took especial care that members of the Legislature — who were likely to investigate the subject, and had power to correct the evils it described — should be supplied with copies. The work attracted, if not all the attention it deserved, yet enough to be productive of very great advantage. A short time previously to its coming out, a change in the arrangements for convicts under sentence of transportation had been made, which induced Howard to suppress his statements concerning the treatment to which they were subjected — proving “ that many cruelties and impositions were commonly practised, and that their condition was equally contrary to humanity and sound policy.” It had been resolved to retain those convicts under penal labour in England, instead of longer polluting and thereby provoking her colonies by such importations of crime. As an ex-

periment, some hulks were appropriated to the confinement of such criminals. They had not been long on board before, in the autumn of 1776, they were visited by the Philanthropist. On that occasion he saw much that was objectionable; but he says — “As the scheme is new and temporary, I am unwilling to complain.” But in 1778 a Select Committee was appointed to investigate this question; and Howard, being examined, described what he had observed on board the *Justitia*, on the occasion referred to. He saw all the convicts — they had very little clothing, and worse food: the biscuit was green and mouldy. The captain had endeavoured to deceive his visitor on this subject, and his indignation prompted a sharp rebuke. Many of the convicts recognised him; he saw they were ill, but they had neither advice nor medicine. The ship was loathsome, and the sick had nothing but the boards whereon to lie. Their misery may in some measure be estimated by the mortality: 176 — *nearly a third part — died in two years!* The inspection was made on a Sunday, that the convicts might all be seen, but there was neither Divine Service nor religious instruction provided. The dying were disregarded — Those dead, where were they! — Wisely indeed does our Church teach us, whilst we seek the forgiveness of our own offences, to pray that God may not take vengeance upon us for sins like these.

Howard's inspection of the *Justitia*, his resolute determination evinced on that occasion, and the

faithful reproofs he then gave, were not without effect; and on a second visit, in 1778, he found that the more gross violations of trust had been discontinued, and that the convicts were in a far better condition: still there were many grievances calling for redress, and much evil in the system itself which could not be rectified. Howard readily detected the abuses and saw the difficulty. He was asked in the course of his examination whether — if this temporary provision were given up — the convicts could be confined in the county gaols; and he replied that they were not secure enough, accompanying the remark with a merited censure upon the Justices who were guilty of disregarding the law in this matter. A bill therefore was passed for continuing this hulk system.

The Legislature, convinced by Howard's evidence that floating prisons were less suitable for the confinement of criminals than buildings constructed on land, but anxious to extend the system of employing prisoners in this country, proposed the erection of places of confinement similar to those in Holland, which had been so much commended by the careful inspector. To this end the draft of a bill was prepared by Sir W. Blackstone and Mr. Eden; and Howard — that he might obtain further information on the plans there pursued — again embarked for the Continent.

Although it be not the design of the writer to enter at any length upon the question of trans-

portation, by a particular account of the different plans of past days, the sad results of which he has elsewhere described*—yet, as the subject is now under consideration, and still most important, it is of sufficient interest to justify some interruption of the narrative.

We have perhaps reason to be thankful that, as the sequel will show, the plan for retaining convicts in England failed. The prison discipline on the Continent, not only in Howard's day, but within the last ten years, was far superior to our own; yet the consequences of not transporting heinous offenders have been most disastrous. The writer was called upon to give evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Lords on this subject in 1847, and he read few parts of the Report which was subsequently drawn up with more satisfaction than that which recommended that "the punishment of transportation should be retained for serious offences"—supporting the opinion by a reference to the state of France and Norway.

The more recent disturbances, and the present uncertain condition, of the former country, justify the warning which their lordships' foresight suggested. Whilst as respects the latter, the consequences of retaining their criminals were so perilous, that at the city of Christiania no police force could prove sufficient. "The liberated convicts bore such proportion to the population, that the inha-

* Prison Discipline, vol. ii.

bitants were called upon to provide the means of their own security from such persons.”*

But if the safety and welfare of England have required the expatriation of offenders,—and our own preservation from the anarchy which has elsewhere prevailed is to be ascribed in a measure to the system of transportation, which was only for a short time interrupted,—shall a feeling of gratitude for such a result prevent our shame and sorrow when we consider the manner by which the calamity has been averted? Should it be so, then repentance may yet be forced upon us. There is, perhaps, no national sin by which a Christian country has more dishonoured itself and debased others. By the system pursued, the bodies and the souls of men were destroyed, our colonies corrupted, and perhaps a scourge prepared which may even yet be inflicted upon the parent land. Indeed, at this day, and in recent occurrences, we discern some retribution. The wise policy of transporting criminals has preserved England’s constitution at home, but the guilty *manner* of doing so has endangered her dominion abroad. Both under the *assignment system*—which sold men as slaves, and which therefore made the punishment depend rather upon the disposition of the master than upon the crime of the convict; and under the *probation system*—which ensured more equitable punishment, and set before the criminal the stimulus of hope,—men were banished from their country, without any

* Report of the Committee on the Execution of the Criminal Law.

attempt at previous correction; and, on their arrival in a penal colony, instead of adequate means for their reformation, there was every thing calculated to deteriorate, and to sink the victim of such misrule into the lowest depths of impurity and vice. This continued for a time, until our penal settlements had become the scenes of wickedness too loathsome for language to describe, and much too horrible to be more than hinted at in these pages. They became at last too abominable to be longer tolerated, and a remedy was attempted! Transportation was again suspended for a season: it was a time of transition to a better system. But the introduction of a plan, certainly the best which has ever been devised, could not eradicate that corruption which had now become deep-rooted in our colonies; nor atone for the wrongs which had been perpetrated; nor yet convince those who had seen, and suffered from, the enormities of former plans, that the one now substituted would have a tendency to correct the evils which the former had produced. Hence, in a great measure, that repugnance to the importation of convicts which has appeared at the Cape and elsewhere, and called forth an opposition so decided that it was not deemed wise to persevere in resisting it. But it is evident that unless this feeling can be overcome the most serious injury to our country must be the inevitable result; since its criminals must then be retained, and after a time allowed to return to former scenes of crime and vicious associates—

there to meet with temptations greater than we can estimate, and which it would be almost presumption to say we should withstand. Such opposition is as reasonable as the retribution is just. It may be, and is, offered in ignorance of the corrective efficacy of the discipline now adopted with prisoners before their deportation; yet the opponents have been eye-witnesses of, or have been too correctly informed concerning, the injuries heretofore inflicted. A promising theory is distrusted, because those previously tried have failed. The distinction is not perceived, and experience is more convincing than argument. But such misconceptions render the explanation of present plans more needful. I proceed, therefore, to give it as concisely as may be consistent with clearness in the account.

When a culprit becomes a convict, and sentence of transportation is passed upon him, he is detained as short a time as may be in the gaol of his county. He has become a government criminal, and an order is issued from the Home Office for his removal to the prison of Pentonville, Millbank, Wakefield, Reading, or some other, as vacancies occur. Here he is in cellular or separate confinement. The discipline pursued in all of these prisons is similar. As most conversant with that of Reading, I describe the course there adopted. On entering the cell, all intercourse with fellow-criminals is at an end for twelve, or sometimes eighteen, months. (In few cases should the latter period be contracted.) Thus

alone for several hours in the day, his solitude only interrupted by calls to the chapel, the school, the yard for exercise, and by visits of superiors who suggest profitable thoughts, his sins and his sorrows are ever present to him: he reflects, and remorse fills his mind. No labour is allowed during the *first month*; although the prisoner, however idle before, begs for manual occupation, and cares little of what kind. Such punishment would be too severe even for a time; but that the criminal is directed to his Bible, is furnished with other books, and receives such advice as may alleviate his sense of woe. This treatment is temporary in its purpose, and is not therefore protracted. The prisoner has learned some preliminary lessons. The rudiments of *corrective discipline* have been acquired. Reflection has enabled him to trace his wretchedness to its cause; he now sets a value upon employment, and he loves instruction. Some handicraft, which may be of value in the colony, is then taught; and the day is divided between such useful occupation and the more important mental and spiritual education, commonly before neglected, often despised. An improvement of mind and morals is thus effected. The seclusion of the cell is still an adequate punishment, relieved whilst the prisoner is encouraged (never commanded or compelled — for neither is needful when a privilege is esteemed) to pursue his trade with industry, and to store his mind with sacred truths; which, it is hoped, will, by God's blessing, fortify him and prepare him to resist future

temptation. By these means it commonly happens that men who had never handled the last or used the needle in their lives, before entering the prison, have, at the end of nine or twelve months, learned their trades, and become better shoemakers and tailors than many a seven years' apprenticeship has taught: and as respects the more important attainments, criminals who before scorned their Bibles, or were entirely unacquainted with their contents, have not merely read, but committed to memory, and keep in mind, the New Testament, from its first chapter to its close; besides other portions of Holy Scripture, the intention and application of which they have at the same time learned.* Such instruction is given with the conviction that it is the remedy of Divine appointment for reclaiming the guilty, and for rendering them, not, as heretofore, a curse to our colonies, but rather a means to their amendment; since men thus corrected will, it may reasonably be hoped, raise the moral tone of those with whom they will hereafter be associated.

But the inquiry naturally arises, Have we more than hope or expectation that the treatment is thus corrective?—that it is so calculated to meliorate the condition of the penal colony? This leads us to some account of the second stage of the penal and reformatory process. The convict, having passed the appointed term in separate confinement, is removed

* See Appendix.

to the establishment in Portland Island (or, it may be, when suitable arrangements are made, to one of our dockyards), to labour in the formation of the Harbour of Refuge, or on some public work. There, although he is still under religious instruction and very judicious superintendence, his principles and the reality of his reformation are subjected to a severe test. He is associated with other convicts, and, as it cannot be supposed that all have been reclaimed, he meets with many temptations. The opinions expressed on this plan before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, previously to its operation, by many of the learned Judges of the land, and by most persons acquainted with penal discipline, were very decidedly adverse to its adoption. The writer himself, when questioned upon the subject, deprecated the proposal in strong terms. He is glad of an opportunity to retract them. Neither had others, nor himself, then learned the efficacy of separate imprisonment to the extent it has now been proved. The fear that most of our convicts would relapse for a time, although many good effects of former discipline would be permanent, was, he is thankful to say, unfounded. The author has received from time to time the most satisfactory testimony to this effect, from the highly intelligent and Christian men who superintend the Portland establishment. Many letters received from convicts have been of the most pleasing character; and by a recent visit, and personal converse with a large number of them, he

became thoroughly convinced, and very thankful, that his former apprehensions were not realised.*

When the convict has passed through his former term of corrective discipline, and the latter of probation for one, two, or more years, in proportion to his sentence, in a manner which entitles him to favourable recommendation, he is then transported to the colony, and receives a "ticket of leave," which permits him to make the best arrangements he can with an employer, while, at the same time, he is under some restraint and supervision, from which he is not exempt until he has paid the expense of his passage, and, by this and other good behaviour, has proved himself deserving of "conditional pardon"—the *pardon* implying his freedom, but the *condition* that he does not return to his native country before the term of his sentence is expired.

Another arrangement, calculated to prevent a vast amount of crime at home and in the colony, is that which provides for the emigration of the families of well-conducted convicts. To this end the Government offers to pay a moiety of the expense, if the parish or the transported person furnish the remainder. The wisdom of such a plan,—as well as the economy of so preventing the cost of crime and pauperism which a like punishment has hitherto entailed,—is most evident. Heretofore, the wife of the convict, in desperation, has abandoned herself to a reckless life; and her children, degraded,

* See Appendix.

wretched, and neglected, became the companions of thieves, and, after repeated prosecutions, followed their guilty father. In March, 1847, there were 1586 children of convicts in our workhouses; probably a much larger number in our prisons; and a still greater, living by their depredations. To all such children the State, induced alike by compassion and policy, should stand "in loco parentis." Howard very highly commended that consciousness of responsibility which gave rise to the judicious plan pursued in Holland with those in a similar condition:—

"The children of the malefactors who are executed are sent to the Orphan-house, and there brought up in industry; and not left destitute vagabonds, to become unhappy victims to the wickedness and folly of their parents." *

We may hope that, ere long, the Legislature will either take upon itself the whole expense of sending the families of convicts out to our colonies, or enforce *upon the parish* the duty of contributing its quota, whenever they are willing to leave the country.

Many transported under this excellent system are now undergoing the completion of their punishment; and the reports hitherto obtained of them are both satisfactory and cheering. The writer lately received a pleasing testimony concerning several who had formed part of his spiritual charge. "Their conduct," writes the religious instructor

* Foreign Prisons, p. 63.

who accompanied them in their passage, “was very good, and I was enabled to report that, in every way, they merited the indulgence they had received. During my stay in Van Diemen’s Land, I saw some of them in situations, who appeared to be desirous of obtaining an honest living, and to become good members of society.” Still more important evidence has been given concerning those transported from Pentonville prison: more than 700 of whom were in the same colony, in 1846; and from the report, at the end of 1847, it appeared that only seven—one per cent.—had been convicted of any crime.*

Thus promising is the plan of which we have already such an earnest of success: and if the reader is led to contrast it with the demoralizing and destructive treatment of convicts in Howard’s day, the author trusts that the digression will be forgiven, and a spirit of gratitude for the change excited.

* Prisons and Prisoners, p. 72.

CHAPTER X.

ANOTHER CONTINENTAL TOUR. — ACCIDENT AT AMSTERDAM. — SERIOUS ILLNESS, AND DIARY DURING CONVALESCENCE. — RASPHOUSE AT ROTTERDAM. — ATTENDS DIVINE SERVICE IN PRISON. — PROCEEDS TO GOUDA. — RETURNS TO AMSTERDAM. — VISITS DR. BROWN AT UTRECHT. — PRISONS AT DEVENTER AND BREDA. — REVISITS HOLLAND. — HORRIBLE PRISON AT OSNABURGH. — SLAVES AT BRUNSWICK. — GOES TO MAGDEBURGH AND BERLIN. — LETTER. — CONVERSATION WITH PRINCE HENRY OF PRUSSIA. — STATE PRISONERS AT SPANDAU. — TREADMILL AT LUKAU. — PRISONS AT DRESDEN. — GOES TO PRAGUE. — VISIT TO THE CAPUCHIN FRIARS. — VIENNA, ITS HOSPITALS AND PRISONS. — DYING PRISONER IN A DUNGEON. — PRECAUTIONS AGAINST INFECTION. — DUCKING-STOOL FOR BAKERS. — CONVERSATION AT THE AMBASSADOR'S TABLE. — GOES TO VENICE, PADUA, FERRARA, BOLOGNA, FLORENCE, LEGHORN, LORETTO, AND ROME. — VISITS PRISONS AND HOSPITALS. — CEMETERY FOR MALEFACTORS. — PROCEEDS TO NAPLES AND CIVITA VECCHIA. — THE POPE'S GALLEY-SLAVES. PERILOUS VOYAGE TO LEGHORN. — RANSOMS A PRISONER AT MILAN. — GOES TO TURIN AND CHAMBERY. — RETURNS THROUGH SWITZERLAND, GERMANY, FLANDERS, AND FRANCE, REVISITING CHARITABLE AND PENAL INSTITUTIONS. — TORTURE AT LIEGE. — RELIEVES PRISONERS OF WAR. — HOWARD'S PATRIOTISM. — RETURNS TO ENGLAND.

THE regularity of Howard's life, the unchanging nature of his philanthropy, his watchfulness for God's direction, and his habitual readiness to go whither Divine Providence might seem to guide him, may account for his embarking for the Continent only *two days* after his giving evidence in the House of Commons, as described in our last chapter.

Let the pathway to practical benevolence be opened, and he was *prepared at once* to pursue it. He went on this occasion to Harwich; but here, as elsewhere, wretchedness—exercising, as it ever did, a magnetic influence on his mind—was too attractive for Howard's charity to pass it by: he could not embark until he had visited the miserable prison of that place. This done, he crossed to Helvoetsluys on the 18th of April, 1778. But God, whose unerring wisdom had first produced the ever-ready obedience of his servant by the sufferings sent upon him, now saw fit, by the same means, to restrain his perseverance in efforts for the good of others, and to give a lesson of patience which should be a proof of love, and most surely should tend to the profit of the Philanthropist himself. Only a day or two after his arrival at Amsterdam, whilst he was walking in the street, a horse—running away with a dray—struck against him, threw him on a heap of stones, and so severely bruised him as to prevent his travelling for several days. As soon as possible he was removed to the Hague, where his affliction was increased by inflammation and fever, which endangered life, and by which he was disabled for six weeks. His state of mind, under this calamity, may be learned best from the Christian simplicity of his daily record, when sufficiently restored to write:—

“ May 11. — Do me good, O God, by this painful affliction! May I see the great uncertainty of health, ease, and comfort, and feel that all my springs are in Thee!

Oh the painful and wearisome nights I possess ! May I be more thankful if restored to health, and more compassionate to others, and more absolutely devoted to God !

“ May 12. — In patience may I possess my soul, and say, It is the Lord ; let Him do what seemeth Him good !

“ May 13. — In pain and anguish all night — my very life a burthen to me ! Help, Lord ! for vain is the help of man ! In Thee do I put my trust ; let me never be confounded ! All refuges but Christ are refuges of lies. My soul ! stay thou upon that rock.

“ May 14. — This night my fever abated and my pains were less. I thank God I had two hours' sleep ; prior to which, for sixteen days and nights, I had not four hours' sleep. O Lord ! righteous art Thou in all Thy ways, and holy in all Thy works ! Sanctify this affliction ! Shew me wherefore thou contendest with me ! Bring me out of the furnace as silver purified seven times !

“ May 15. — Shew me, O God, wherefore Thou contendest with me ! Oh, let me recover my strength before I go hence and am no more seen ! May this great affliction be to try me, to prove me, and to do me good in my latter end ; to wean my affections from this world, and fix them on the rest that remaineth for the people of God !

“ May 16. — A more quiet night and less fever, yet much pain until morning. If God should please to restore me to days of prosperity, may I remember the days of sorrow ; may I be habitually serious and humble ! May I learn from this affliction more than I have learnt before, and have reason to bless God for it !

“ May 17. — Lord's Day. This night, I bless God, less pain, though more fever, so that I have not strength to attend the public worship of God, yet I have hope I shall be raised up a monument of His goodness ! Oh, may I not be a cumberer of the ground, but live to the glory of God, and be made, through grace, an honour to my Christian profession ! May I have a prudent zeal, and an humble hope in the mercy of God through Christ !

“ May 19. — A better night, less pain! Thou art putting a song of praise into my mouth: O thou God that hearest prayer! perfect the mercy begun, O God, and may I never forget Thy compassion! ” *

Howard, on his recovery from this painful affliction in a foreign land, records his gratitude to Sir Joseph Yorke, of whom he writes, “ he favoured me with instances of friendship and kindness that I can never forget.” † On or about the 29th of May he went again to Amsterdam. There, although still weak, he publicly offered thanks to God in the congregation, as on a former occasion. We have the following notes in his Diary under their respective dates:—

“ May 30. — Less pain in the night; more revived this morning. O my Saviour and my God, put under me Thine everlasting arms! Succour and support me, for Thy mercy’s sake!

“ May 31. — A poor night; faint, yet, blessed be God, enabled to attend His public worship! O Lord, receive me, and put a new song of praise into my mouth!”

Howard, now convalescent, and longing to resume his labours and pursue his mission of benevolence, no sooner felt able to walk than he returned to the Hague, and thence to Rotterdam, where he revisited the Rasphouse — of which we have the following notice:—

“ Being at Rotterdam on the Sunday, I was desirous of seeing whether there was such dissipation in their prisons

* Brown, p. 270, 271.

† Foreign Prisons, p. 73.

as in ours on that day. The public service at the Rasp-house began at half after one o'clock. The chaplain, after a short prayer, preached extempore; then, the *men* convicts joined in singing, most of them having books. When the chaplain had prayed again, he catechised for about three quarters of an hour. It being the *women's* turn that Sunday, six of them stood up, one after another, and made the responses, which the chaplain explained to them. After this he prayed, and the service concluded by singing the fifty-first psalm. The decent behaviour and attention of the audience evidently proved that the service, though of two hours and a half, was not tedious or disagreeable."*

"I cannot forbear closing this account, with mentioning the ardent wishes it inspired in me, that *our* prisons also, instead of echoing with profaneness and blasphemy, might hereafter resound with the offices of religious worship, and prove, like these, the happy means of awakening many to a sense of their *duty* to *God* and *man*. On conversing with a sensible magistrate, his words were, 'I have known persons who have come out of our houses of correction thoroughly reformed, and have thanked God for their confinement.'"†

At Gouda, whither Howard proceeded, he found the debtors' prison had been empty seventeen years. The spin-house of that town, as well as that at Haarlem, which he next visited, was commended as clean and well regulated. He then returned to Amsterdam, and thoroughly investigated all the prison arrangements of that city. These have been already described. We are further told that for defraying the expenses of the spin-house a tax was levied upon the sellers of beer, liquors, and

* Foreign Prisons, p. 58.

† Ib. 59.

tobacco; a plan which might be equitably adopted towards a portion of the same class in our own country—since about three fourths of the crime concocted and committed is traceable to the beer-houses which at present pollute our land. After visiting the workhouses at Amsterdam, in which petty offenders were also confined, Howard proceeded again to Utrecht, where he now spent some time with Dr. Brown, who had recently been appointed to the English church there; and that excellent person was so much pleased with his guest that he preserved some memoranda of the visit. In one of his notes he describes Howard's statement of the occasion which induced his labours of benevolence. He told him how the death of his beloved wife had rendered his abode at Cardington irksome and very painful; and, whilst he gave this reason for his travels, his tears burst forth, and bespoke the pang which the remembrance of that bitter affliction caused.

But if that painful bereavement made him forsake his home, and sent him forth on his errand of mercy—and though subsequent afflictions, as we have lately seen, had attended his progress—yet his consolation was great. ONE was ever with him, whose presence cheered and whose strength sustained. Hence the very next note of Howard's is one of praise: he writes—

“Deventer, June 14. — Blessed be my Father and my God, who supports and carries me on.”

From Deventer he travelled to Middleburgh, in the prison of which place he found three dungeons in which condemned criminals were confined. They were dismal, being designed to force confession, since no criminal was executed until an acknowledgment of guilt had thus been extorted. At Breda the prison was an old tower; and the humane inspector tells us, with much satisfaction, "the torture-stool in the chamber of examination has not been used for three years past."* After describing some particulars of the house of correction, — which was a manufactory of carpeting, — we have the following note of general approbation: —

"I leave this country with regret, as it affords a large field for information on the important subjects I have in view. I know not which to admire most,—the *neatness* and *cleanliness* appearing in the prisons, the *industry* and *regular conduct* of the prisoners, or the *humanity* and *attention* of the magistrates and regents."†

From Holland, the traveller himself tells us,

"I went into Germany in June 1778, by Osnaburgh and Hanover. The prison at Osnaburgh I should entirely omit, did I not entertain a hope that the account of it may possibly engage the notice of an amiable *prince*, who is the present *bishop*, and so be the means of alleviating the sufferings of the miserable prisoners. The prison and the house of correction is one large building, situated in an airy part of the suburbs, near a brook. A Latin inscription over the gate implies that it was erected at 'the

* Foreign Prisons, p. 73.

† Ib. p. 73.

public expense, in 1756, for the purposes of public justice and utility, by confining and punishing the wicked.' There are seventeen chambers for criminals, which have no light but a small aperture over each door. I was happy to find here no more than one prisoner: he had been confined three years, and had survived the cruelty of the torture.

"In *another part* of the house I found many miserable and sickly objects, men, women, and children, almost all without shoes and stockings. They were spinning in different rooms, which were dirty beyond description. These rooms open into an offensive passage, which a gentleman in office in the city, to whom I was recommended, durst not enter. I inquired of the keeper concerning several particulars of the diet, &c., but the misery expressed in the *countenances* of the prisoners made me totally disregard the information given me by words." *

Thence Howard proceeded to Brunswick, where he says —

"I visited the habitation of the slaves, who lay on barrack bedsteads without beds. They had heavy irons, and their countenances were unhealthy." †

Arriving at Magdeburg, he inspected the prisons. In one of them he found the women employed in looking after a large number of silkworms.

At Berlin he speaks of the prisons as well constructed and clean. He gives a long description of the *Maison de Travail*, in which four hundred and fifty persons were actively employed. They were cleanly, and were very carefully attended to. He also commended the police regulations by which the streets of that city were kept clear of mendicants.

* Foreign Prisons, p. 75.

† Ib.

But what was especially gratifying to Howard's humane spirit, he found "no torture rooms," for, he adds, "the present king has set the example in Germany of abolishing the cruel practice." *

The following letter was written at this time to his friend† residing at Cardington, during his absence: —

" Berlin, June 28. 1778.

"Dear Sir, — It is with pleasure I heard by John Prole's letter, which I received on my arrival here, that you are at Cardington; it gives me pleasure to think that a place on which I have employed so many of my thoughts should afford my friend any entertainment. My pain and fever, brought on by the accident I met with in Holland, made me almost despair of accomplishing my journey, or even returning to England, but, through sparing mercy, I am recovered, and have now the pleasing hope before me. I was presented on Friday to Prince Henry, who very graciously conversed with me ten minutes: he said 'he could hardly conceive of a more disagreeable journey, but the *object* was great and humane.'

"We are here just on the eve of an important event — the King of Prussia in Silesia, and the Emperor encamped within a few miles of him; 40,000 men ready to destroy one another, as the prejudices or passions of an arbitrary monarch may direct: this would be a matter of great concern to a thinking mind, had it not the firm belief of a wise and overruling Providence. I hope in about a fortnight to be clear of the armies and to be at or near Vienna, till which time a thought of England is too distant.

"I have both parts of this day joined with the French Protestants, — a pleasure I shall be debarred of many weeks. I am here nobly lodged; drank tea this afternoon

* Foreign Prisons, p. 79.

† The Rev. Mr. Smith.

with Prince Dolgoruky, the Russian ambassador: yet I thirst for the land of liberty, my Cardington friends, and retreat.

“ Please, Sir, to tell John Prole I observe the contents of his letter; I shall write in five or six weeks; and that I must build no more cottages (as he is still fetching materials to finish the last) till I have quite done with my gaol schemes.

“ Through the Hanoverian dominions and that part of Germany I have seen, there is prospect of great plenty of corn, which must prevent its being very dear in England. I take my leave with affectionate compliments to Mrs. Smith, and a kiss for the babe, and accept the tenderest assurances of regard from, dear Sir, your friend and servant,
J. HOWARD.

“ Thermometer 79° in the shade.

“ I beg to be remembered to any inquiring friends at Bedford, that I am well, and in spirits to undertake any enterprise but one, which I hope never more will be pressed on me, as totally destructive of that tranquillity and ease in which I hope to pass the few remaining years of my life.

“ Adieu, my friend. Let me share your serious moments.

“ To the Rev. Mr. Smith,
Cardington, near Bedford, Angleterre.” *

The foregoing letter has been transcribed just as it was written by Howard. Its sentiments evince a warmheartedness which may safely be left to repel any approaches of chilling criticism. In this interesting document we see the tendencies of Howard's mind, the tone of his feelings, and that constancy of purpose which so remarkably dis-

* Brown, p. 277.

tinguished him. Objects the most attractive, — the pageantry of courts, the invitations of princes, and the pompous array of war, — were unable to divert him from his great object; nor could the apprehension of personal labour and suffering deter him from its prosecution. His affection towards friends, love towards his native land, and his longing for the sacred retirement of his home, were not lessened although the circuit of philanthropy had been so much extended. There is, too, the same steadfastness of intention, and ardour in the execution of his schemes, traceable throughout his whole career. He speaks indeed of rest, but the only ease to which Howard could look forward was quietude after work completed. This was never likely to be realised by one with whom success was but the stimulant to a more enlarged exertion; and therefore labours of benevolence ceased only with his life.

In the postscript he alludes to an anxious desire which had been expressed by his friends at Bedford, that he should again become a candidate for the representation of that borough when a vacancy might occur. But, feeling that another path of duty had been assigned to him, he would prevent conflicting engagements, and not allow the tranquil enterprise of mercy to be interrupted by party struggles and political strife. Howard's ambition was to do good by relieving distress, and neither the honours nor the enjoyments of the world gave him pleasure to be compared with that.

Some further account of his conversation with the Prince Henry has been preserved, and we are told that he inquired respecting Howard's amusements, what places of evening entertainments were frequented by him after the labours of the day: the Philanthropist simply replied — None at any time; and that he derived more pleasure from doing his duty, than from any amusements whatever.

In the energy of such feelings he pursued his course to Spandau, and inspected the prisons there. One he found well regulated and its inmates industrious. He observes, "Neither this nor any foreign prisons which I have seen are without a chapel." The other — the Fortress — was badly managed, and of the prisoners he thus writes:—

"They had a light chain to each foot, and such as were taken after an escape had a collar of iron. The apartments of the *state prisoners* here are not all so dreadful as some imagine. They are not all confined to a small quantity of bread and water, in cells of four feet square and six feet high, and loaded with seventy-eight pounds of iron, as the ingenious and intrepid Trenck was six years at Magdeburg."*

At Lukan he found some criminals treading a wheel for grinding corn: this may have suggested our own mischievous treadmills, although a similar plan, for raising water, had been common to the Egyptians† from the earliest times, and to the

* Foreign Prisons, p. 80.

† There appears to be a reference to this practice, Deut. xi. 10, in which passage the land of Canaan is said to be not like that of Egypt, "where thou sowest thy seed and waterest it with thy foot." "To

Chinese for many centuries. The prisons at Dresden more resembled those in their visitor's own country than others on the Continent. In the prison for slaves the apartments were unhealthy. The sick had their irons on. In another were 26 prisoners, most of whom had a chain fastened to a staple in the wall. The prison was dirty, and the gaoler's pan of charcoal and frankincense (which his negligence rendered necessary) could not prevent its being very offensive.

“ On paying my acknowledgments to the *grand bailiff* for permitting me to see the gaol, I took the liberty to observe that I had seen prisons cleaner. I mentioned also the severity of chaining women, which is very uncommon in other countries. To this he answered, that ‘ the gaoler chained them for security, being often obliged to be absent in fetching prisoners from the country.’ In return I gave my opinion that the attention to a prison ought to be the *sole* work of a gaoler, without which, little regard will be paid to cleanliness or humanity.”*

Bohemia was at this time the scene of war; and the humane traveller, as though unwilling to linger amidst distress which he could not alleviate, hastened forward, only making a cursory visit to the *Maison de Force* at Prague, and to a monastery of

supply the want of water in Egypt, ditches are dug, and the water is distributed throughout the several villages and cantons by means of machines; one of which Philo describes as a wheel which a man turns by the motion of his feet, by ascending successively the several steps that are within it. But as whilst he is thus continually turning he cannot keep himself up, he holds a stay in his hands, which is not moveable, and this supports him; so that in this work the hands do the office of the feet, and the feet that of the hands.”—*Calmet*.

* Foreign Prisons, p. 81.

the Capuchin Friars, where a scene presented itself very different from those which he commonly witnessed, and highly discreditable to the reputed sanctity and self-denial of that Order; their reputation for which had, indeed, probably attracted their abstemious visitor. On his arrival it was dinner-time — a meagre day, yet the table was spread with all the meats and delicious viands which the most self-indulgent could desire. He was invited to partake, but was not likely to accept the hospitality of hypocrites. Instead of that, the Fathers received sharp rebuke: Howard told them he “heard they lived secluded for abstinence and prayer; but he found their house was rather for revelry and drunkenness.” He added that, as he was going to Rome, it would be his duty to make known to the Pope their real manner of living. Alarmed at this threat, four or five of the friars afterwards came to his abode, begged pardon, and entreated they might be spared the threatened exposure and disgrace. The indignant reprover would make no promise but that of inquiry into their future conduct, intimating that, if the promised reformation of morals were fulfilled, he probably should not report the offence.

From Prague the Philanthropist proceeded direct to Vienna, where he tells us that he visited all the prisons and most of the hospitals. Of the latter he says —

“They do honour to the citizens in general, and especially to the empress queen. It was agreeable to see

the neatness, order, and cleanliness of the inmates. There, poverty and old age appeared with a smiling aspect."

The Maison de Force in this city, like other continental prisons, was a manufactory, in which the criminals were associated, and their correction was therefore hopeless. Howard observes —

"One or two of the women were crying, and charging others with rising in the night and stealing some of their cotton. The *mistress* believed the complaint, but said she was not able to prevent such frauds, because there was not the convenience of *separate apartments*." *

In the great prison, La Maison de Bourreau, we are told —

"There are many dungeons. Here, as usual, I inquired whether they had any putrid fever, and was answered in the negative. But, in one of the dark dungeons down twenty-four steps, I thought I had found a person with the gaol fever. He was loaded with heavy irons, and chained to the wall: anguish and misery appeared with clotted tears on his face. He was not capable of speaking to me; but on examining his breast and feet for *petechiæ*, or spots, and finding he had a strong intermitting pulse, I was convinced that he was not ill of that disorder. A prisoner in an opposite cell told me that *the poor creature* had desired him to call out for assistance, and he had done it, but was not heard. This is one of the *bad effects of dungeons*." †

This scene has been well portrayed by Hayley in his "Ode to Howard:" —

"Where, in the dungeon's loathsome shade,
The speechless captive clanks his chain,
With heartless hope to raise that aid, —
His feeble cries have call'd in vain:

* Foreign Prisons, p. 82.

† Ibid.

Thine eye his dumb complaint explores ;
Thy voice his parting breath restores ;
Thy cares his ghastly visage clear
From death's chill dew, with many a clotted tear,
And to his thankful soul returning life endear."

Do we inquire how the Philanthropist could survive these perilous visits ? His own remarks will best explain : —

" I have been frequently asked what precautions I use, to preserve myself from infection in the prisons and hospitals which I visit. I here answer, that, next to the *free goodness* and *mercy* of the *Author of my being*, temperance and cleanliness are my preservatives. Trusting in *Divine Providence*, and believing myself in the way of my duty, I visit the most noxious cells ; and, while thus employed, '*I fear no evil.*' . . . I never enter a prison or hospital before breakfast, and, if in an offensive room, I seldom draw my breath deeply."*

Howard's care and concern for the poor caused him to observe particularly all regulations which prevented imposition : accordingly, after describing the prisons, he adds —

" Before I leave this city, I would just mention that every month, an account of the price, weight, and measure of *bread* and *flour* is put up on the gates. The bakers at Vienna are punished for frauds by the severity and disgrace of the ducking-stool. This machine of terror, fixed on the side of the Danube, is a kind of long pole or board extending over the water, at one end of which the delinquent, being fastened in his basket, is immersed. The bakers would gladly purchase a removal of this machine, but the punishment is continued, and inflicted on delinquents, by order of the magistrates."†

During his stay at Vienna, Howard, whose ex-

* State of Prisons, p. 431.

† Foreign Prisons, p. 84.

cellence was now better appreciated, had the honour of dining at the royal table, with the ambassadors and nobles of the Queen's court. On this occasion his favourite attendant must not be forgotten. The sight would probably give him as much pleasure as the feast itself would afford his master, and therefore some of the household were requested to allow him to pass through the room: this was granted; and Thomasson, in his journal, says — "It was a grand sight!"

An instance of Howard's dauntless courage and determined truthfulness occurred another day at Vienna, when at dinner with Sir R. Murray Keith, the English ambassador. It is thus recorded by his friend, Dr. Brown: —

"The conversation turned upon the torture, when a German gentleman of the party observed, that the glory of abolishing it in his own dominions belonged to his Imperial Majesty. 'Pardon me,' said Mr. Howard, 'his Imperial Majesty has only abolished one species of torture, to establish in its place another more cruel; for the torture which he abolished lasted, at the most, a few hours; but that which he has appointed lasts many weeks, nay, sometimes years. The poor wretches are plunged into a noisome dungeon, as bad as the black-hole at Calcutta, from which they are taken out only if they confess what is laid to their charge.' 'Hush!' said the ambassador, 'your words will be reported to his Majesty.' 'What!' replied he, 'shall my tongue be tied from speaking truth by any king or emperor in the world? I repeat what I asserted, and maintain its veracity.' Deep silence ensued, and every one present admired the intrepid boldness of the man of humanity."*

* Brown, p. 285.

From Vienna, Howard proceeded to Gratz, Laubach, and Trieste, and visited the prisons of each place, but saw little in them to commend. He embarked from Trieste, in a small vessel, for Venice, and was driven about the gulf two days and nights by contrary winds:—

“ I entered Italy,” says the benevolent tourist, “ with raised expectations of considerable information, from a careful attention to the prisons and hospitals, in a country abounding with charitable institutions and public edifices. At Venice, the greatest prison is near the Doge’s palace, and it is one of the strongest I ever saw. There were between three and four hundred prisoners, many of them confined in loathsome and *dark* cells for life; executions here being very rare. There was no fever or prevailing disorder in this close prison. None of the prisoners had irons. On weighing the bread allowance, I found it fourteen ounces. I asked some who had been confined many years in dark cells, whether they should prefer the galleys? They all answered in the affirmative: so great a blessing is light and air! The chapel is only for the *condemned*, who continue there a night and a day before execution.”*

“ The *galley*s were dirty and crowded: the slaves were in chains of about twenty-seven pounds’ weight. I saw one dead on the shore, who, I suppose, destroyed himself in despair.”†

From Venice, Howard went to Florence, passing through Padua, Ferrara, and Bologna; visiting the prisons at each place. At Florence he acknowledges his obligations to Sir Horace Mann, through whom he obtained permission from the Grand Duke to inspect the various public institutions of the city, of which we have the following notices:—

* Foreign Prisons, p. 86.

† Ibid.

“ In Florence are two prisons. In the great prison, *Palazzo degl’ Otto*, were only twenty prisoners. Six of them were in the *secrete* chambers, which are twenty-one strong rooms. None of the prisoners were in irons. They had mattresses to lie on. Their bread was good. In the torture-chamber there was a machine for decollation, which prevents that repetition of the stroke which too often happens when the axe is used.

“ In the other prison, *Delle Stinche*, there are five doors to pass before you come to the court. The opening of the first is three feet wide, and four feet nine inches high, with an inscription over it, *Oportet misereri*.”*

“ The hospital, *S. Maria Nova*, was crowded and too close: though the *men’s* fever-ward was 454 feet long. The women are attended by *Nuns*, who have a passage under ground from the opposite convent. . . The hospital I most frequently visited was *S. Giovan di Dio*. In it there are five rooms, with single beds for priests. The bedsteads of all were iron, and the boards of the hospital were varnished. The great attention of this order of Friars to the sick in every country does them honour. In the *S. Paolo della Convalescenza*, recovering patients remain four days. In the almshouse, *S. Bonifazio*, the wards are all clean, and show the care of the *Nuns* who attend on this charity.”†

Proceeding through Leghorn, and thence to Loretto, in which places he found little that was calculated to further his purpose, Howard next arrived in Rome, where the first object he visited was the prison, over the door of which is this inscription:—

“ *Justitiæ et Clementiæ, securiori ac meliori reorum custodiæ, novum carcerem Innocentius X. Pont. Max. posuit, Anno Domini MDCLV.*”‡

* *Foreign Prisons*, p. 87.

† *Ib.* p. 89.

‡ *Ib.* p. 91.

“ There are eighteen strong rooms for the *men*, which are close and offensive ; each of them having but one window for admitting light and air. These rooms are never opened without an order from the *governor* of the city. There were thirty-six prisoners. They are not permitted to go out of their rooms at any time but for examination. Some, having been confined there many years, appeared with pale, sickly countenances ; but none were in irons. There is a chamber for distracted prisoners, in which were seven miserable objects. I wish I could say I had seen no torture-chamber.”*

But, besides the torture-chamber, “ at one corner of this building were placed a pulley and rope, by which malefactors, with their hands behind them, were pulled up ; and, after being suspended for some time, were inhumanly let down part of the way, when, by a sudden jerk, their arms were dislocated.”†

“ The state prisoners are confined in the Castle of San Angelo. The rooms appropriated to that purpose were all empty, except one, in which was a bishop, who had been confined upwards of twenty years, and was distracted.”‡

Concerning the prison of the Inquisition, more abominable, as it must have been, to Howard, than even the Bastile, yet one which, if possible, he would have penetrated, he says—

“ The chambers of this *silent* and *melancholy* abode were quite inaccessible to me ; and yet I spent near two hours about the court and the priests’ apartments, till my continuance there began to raise suspicion.”§

Howard again mentions the *Confraternità della*

* Foreign Prisons, p. 92.

* Brown, p. 289.

† Foreign Prisons, p. 9.

§ Ibid.

Misericordia, to which reference has been made in a former page. In addition to the ceremony attending an Italian execution, he gives some particulars of the cemetery for the malefactors:—

“ I was at Rome on the 29th of August, the only day in the year when the burial-place is open to the public. Adjoining an elegant church is a chapel. In the portico, and on one side, are marble squares, in which are circular apertures for the interment of those who are executed. Round these stones is inscribed — ‘ *Domine, cum veneris judicare, noli nos condemnare.* ’ ”*

From surveying a locality of such questionable advantage, Howard proceeded to inspect an institution, the usefulness of which was very apparent, and of which we have the following notice:—

“ The hospital of *S. Michele* is a large and noble edifice. It consists of several courts, with buildings round them. In the apartments of one of these, boys, who are orphans or destitute, are educated; all learning different trades. When I was there, the number was about two hundred. At twenty years of age they are completely clothed; and a sum of money is given to set them up in the business they have learned. In another court are apartments for the aged, in which were nearly five hundred. Here they find a comfortable retreat, having clean rooms and a refectory. They appeared happy and thankful. Another part is a prison for boys or *young men*. Over the door is this inscription:— *Clemens XI. Pont. Max. Perditis Adolescentibus corrigendis sustinendusque: ut qui Inertes obe-rant, Instructi, Reipublicæ serviant. MDCCIV.*

“ In the room is inscribed the following admirable sen-

* *Foreign Prisons*, p. 94.

tence, in which the grand purpose of all civil policy relative to criminals is expressed:—*Parum est improbos coercere pœnâ, nisi probos efficias disciplinâ.*”*

The regulations of this prison were in accordance with this wisemaxim; and the philosopher of old was not more pleased with his solution of the problem that had cost him such long investigation, than our philanthropist was delighted with his discovery of a prison in which such an axiom was practically recognised. Dr. Aikin, who had often conversed with Howard respecting this interesting inscription, says—“He would, I believe, almost have thought it worth while to have travelled to Rome for that alone.”†

From Rome, Howard proceeded to Naples, where, at once pursuing the object of his tour, he describes—

“The principal prison, *La Vicaria*. It contained when I was there, according to the gaoler’s account, nine hundred and eighty prisoners. In about eight large rooms, communicating with one another, there were five hundred and forty sickly objects, who had access to a court surrounded by buildings so high as to prevent the circulation of the air. In this court was a recess, under arcades like those under the chapel at Newgate. Some of the prisoners were employed in knitting, and others in making shoes; but most of them were entirely without employment. . . . Adjoining was a chapel and spacious infirmary. I observed in the prisons of Italy great attention paid to the sick, but too little care taken to *prevent* sickness. There were three other prisons—one contained eighty prisoners,

* *Foreign Prisons*, p. 94.

† Aikin, p. 97.

another near sixty, the other but eleven. The *galleys* were moored about ten feet from the shore. In the *first* were two hundred and sixty slaves; in the *second*, two hundred and ninety-eight; in the *third*, two hundred and seventy; and in the *fourth*, four hundred; most of them stout and healthy. All were chained two and two together. As no regular plan had been settled for the employment of these slaves, the King lately made a present of three hundred of such of them as had been condemned for life, to the Maltese. In the *Seraglio*, or great almshouse, there were about five hundred and fifty prisoners (*condannati*) in eight or nine rooms. Many of them work as labourers on this great building, with chains varying according to the terms of their confinement.”*

From Naples, our tourist returned to Rome, and thence proceeded to the Pope’s galleys at *Civita Vecchia* : —

“The slaves condemned to them are confined for different terms, according to the nature of their crimes: but the shortest time is three years for vagabonds, who are generally employed on board the pontons in clearing the harbour. For theft, the term is never under seven years. Persons convicted of forgery are always confined for life; and if found guilty of forging bank-notes, or any instruments by which large sums have been lost, they are punished with an *iron glove*. Prisoners *for life* are chained two and two together: those for *limited terms* have all a single chain, and, at their first arrival, of the same weight; but when they have no more than one or two years to serve, they have only a ring round their leg, which is lessened as the end of their time approaches. For escapes, they are obliged to finish their *first* condemnation, and then receive a fresh one for the same time as the former; but if the first was for life, the same is renewed, and they

* Foreign Prisons, pp. 98, 99.

receive from a hundred to two hundred lashes a day, for three days after their arrival. *None are sent to the galleys under the age of twenty*: criminals of a younger age are kept at the hospital of S. Michele, in Rome, till they are of age.”*

Howard's statement as to the frequency of assassinations in Italy has been already transcribed, but the account given by a more recent philanthropist of his visit to the prison of Civita Vecchia is so full of painful interest, that the writer is induced to insert it:—

“ The gaol there, which was the object of our journey, is an old and strong fortress close by the sea, and contains 1364 desperate-looking criminals, all for the most aggravated offences. I am sure you never saw such a gang of malefactors, or such a horrid dungeon. We went, first, into a vaulted room, with a low ceiling, as I measured it, thirty-one yards long, twenty-one broad. There was light, but obscure. A good deal of the room was taken up by the buttresses which supported the arches. The noise on our entrance was such as may be imagined at the entrance of hell itself. All were chained most heavily, and fastened down. The murderers and desperate bandits are fixed to that spot for the rest of their lives; they are chained to a ring fastened to the end of the platform, on which they lie side by side, but they can move the length of their chain on a narrow gangway. Of this class, there were upwards of 700 in the prison; some of them famed for a multitude of murders; many, we are told, had committed six or seven; and, indeed, they were a ghastly crew,—haggard, ferocious, reckless assassins. I do not think that the attendant gaoler very much liked our being there. A sergeant, in uniform, was ordered to keep close by me; and

* Foreign Prisons, p. 96.

I observed that he kept his hand upon his sword, as he walked up the alley between the adjacent platforms.

“ There was a fourth room at some distance, and our guide employed many expedients to divert us from going there. . . . This was worse than any of the others : the room lower, damper, darker ; and the prisoners with, if possible, a more murderous look. . . . The mayor afterwards told us, that he, in his official capacity, knew that there was a murder every month among the prisoners. I spoke to a good many of them, and, with one exception, each said that he was condemned for murder or stabbing. I will tell you one short conversation :— ‘ What are you here for ? ’ said I to a heavy-looking fellow, lying on his back at the end of the room. He made no answer ; but a prisoner near him, with the sharp features and dark complexion of an Italian, promptly said, ‘ He is here for stabbing ’ (giving a thrust with his hand to show how it was done). ‘ And why is he in this part of the prison ? ’ ‘ Because he is incorrigible. ’ ‘ And what were you condemned for ? ’ ‘ For murder. ’ ‘ And why placed here ? ’ ‘ *Sono incorrigibile.* ’ In short, this prison combines together, in excess, all the evils of which prisons are capable. It is, as the mayor said, a sink of all the iniquity of the state. The Capuchins certainly preach them a sermon on the Sunday, and afford them an opportunity of confession ; of which if the prisoners avail themselves, the priests must have enough to do. The sight of it has kindled in my mind a very strong desire, that the old Prison Discipline Society should make a great effort, and visit all the prisons of the world. I had hoped that sound principles of prison discipline had spread themselves more widely ; but I now fear that there are places, and many of them, in the world, in which it is horrible that human beings should live, and still more horrible that they should die.”*

* Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton, pp. 496, 497.

Howard was anxious to proceed to Leghorn by sea, and his stay at Civita Vecchia was shortened by the departure of a vessel bound for that port. When night came on, the captain put into a creek, and his crew pitched a tent for the night on shore, amidst some beautiful Italian scenery. The weather was then fair, and they embarked in the morning; but they had no sooner got out to sea, than a violent storm arose and drove them near one of the small islands in the Mediterranean; where, at night, they anchored under the walls of a town, whose inhabitants would not suffer them to land, it having been reported that the plague had broken out in the port from which the vessel was come. After a comfortless night, they got under sail again, but the tempest came on with increased fury, and they were driven upon the Algerine coast. The same rumour had reached Algiers, and they were forbidden to land without performing quarantine. Providentially the wind changed, and, on the following day, they were enabled to pursue their voyage. On the third evening they reached the island of Gorgona, when the governor sent out his boat for Howard, and welcomed him; and he was hospitably entertained upon the island for five or six days. As soon as the wind was favourable, the Philanthropist set sail for Leghorn, where he remained a week, and thence proceeded to Lucca, and next to Lerice. There he met with the Hon. Philip Yorke (afterwards Earl of Hardwicke), who travelled with

him to Genoa. Here he carefully inspected the prisons and hospitals. In the former he found many wise regulations enforced by the following enactments:—

“The keeper shall have under him six assistants: and the said keeper is to be responsible, and liable to punishment, if any of the assistants shall be guilty of the least fraud or neglect in their employment. The advocate fiscal is, once a week, at any time he shall think proper—but *when he is least expected*—to visit the cells of the prison, and to inquire diligently how the prisoners are treated by the keeper and assistants, in order to give information to the most serene senate.”*

In the great hospital he found about 900 patients; the sick of all nations being admissible. There was “a room for foundlings, but crowded and close.” The same observation applied to that for the insane, in which “the calm and quiet were inhumanly confined with the noisy and turbulent.” The hospital is an asylum for boys and girls, similar to that of S. Michele in Rome. There were about 600 inmates. “Over the door of the great room, where numbers were spinning and weaving, was this inscription:—*Silentium et Obedientia.*”†

The Philanthropist next directed his course to Milan, and, amongst other notices of its public hospitals and prisons, we have the following:—

“In visiting the Great Hospital, my expectations were disappointed. The rooms were not lofty; they were dirty and offensive. In the hospital for orphans—La Stella—

* Foreign Prisons, p. 101.

† Ib. p. 102.

there were 300 girls, employed in making lace on round pillars.

“ In the Great Prison are twenty secret chambers. The entrance guarded by two doors, between which is a narrow space. Into this you are locked, before the turnkey opens the inner door, for fear these desperate criminals should murder the keeper for the keys, and attempt to rush out. In this great trading city there were only four persons confined for debt. The prisons called *L'Argastro* and *La Casa di Correzione* do honour to the country. Both are for criminals condemned either for a term of years or for life. The *most atrocious* work in chains in the streets; the *others*, only in the house. In *L'Argastro* there were three hundred and fifty-nine prisoners, healthy and strong. A considerable number of them were at work in public: but in the house there were at work shoemakers, tailors, smiths, and wheelwrights, &c. Many here learn trades; so that there is a probability that, when their term is finished, they will become *useful members of society*; which should be the *grand object* in all such houses. They receive for themselves *one-third* of what they earn, and *two-thirds* go to the house.”*

Howard generally visited the prisons unattended by his servant; but he was so much pleased with some of the arrangements in the Casa di Correzione, that he obtained permission for Thomasson to accompany him. Had this been a more frequent occurrence, the journal of that attendant would have told constantly of Howard's charity. On this occasion we have the following incident recorded:—

“ Amongst the number of prisoners was a young man

* Foreign Prisons, p. 103.

of superior talents, who was working upon a very fine gold brocade. On entering into conversation with him, Mr. Howard found that he was highly accomplished, and could speak four or five different languages. The crime for which he was confined here was that of having more wives than one living at the same time, — an offence which, in Italy, does not seem to have been viewed in so serious a light as it is with us; since, on finding that the correction he had undergone in this prison seemed to have produced a salutary effect upon his mind, our benevolent countryman was permitted to purchase his ransom, and to furnish him with money to carry him to some other country, probably to that of which he was a native. For this unexpected generosity, the young man, who appeared not to be above four or five-and-twenty years of age, was very grateful, and showed his benefactor all possible respect and attention during his continuance in Milan.”*

Howard expresses gratitude to the Count de Firmian for the facilities he had afforded him at Milan. He proceeded thence to Turin, and we have the following amongst the other particulars of what he there recorded: —

“In the citadel there were 170 men in irons. Their unhealthy countenances plainly showed the little attention paid to them. In the hospital of *La Carita* there were about 2000 inhabitants, mostly children. Here also is an *hospital for lunatics*, where, with pain, I saw *wards crowded* with beds, and in some of them miserable creatures chained and raving.”†

Thence proceeding to Chamberry, he says —

“The prisoners here, besides the *allowance* of good bread, are often supplied with bread, soup, and clothes by a

* Brown, p. 300

† Foreign Prisons, p. 106.

charitable society of ladies. In one of the rooms I saw chains, but was told they had not been used since the walls had been built higher. A dismal torture-chamber, into which daylight never enters, makes a part of this prison." *

Our humane traveller then revisited the prisons in Switzerland, and found them generally untenanted, from the causes which have been already assigned. At Berne he met with a further instance of the clemency and discretion of the magistrates : —

“An old keeper having left the door of one of the men’s wards unlocked, twelve prisoners forced the outer door and walked off; the people who happened to see them suffering them to pass, because they supposed they were going to work in the streets. When four or five of them some time after were retaken and carried to their old lodgings, the magistrates ordered that they should *not be punished*, considering that every one must be desirous of regaining liberty. As they had not been guilty of assault or violence in making their escape, the punishment fell on the *keeper* for his negligence.” †

“At Zurich there is a prison, situated in the middle of a river, for capital crimes: here was only one prisoner. The first room was for examination: in it were five different weights for torture; and, if we may depend on tradition, the heaviest, which is one hundred and twenty pounds, was used in torturing a burgomaster of this city.” ‡

Howard had not visited all the larger prisons or charitable institutions in Germany during his former tours. He gives us therefore some additional notes : —

* Foreign Prisons, p. 106.

† Ib. p. 109.

‡ Ib. p. 112.

“At Augsburg the prison consists of many *cachots* on three different floors. There is one for examination, and two for the instruments of torture. There are also two dark dungeons for such as have been convicted of witchcraft.”

“At Munich there are two prisons. In a dark, damp dungeon down seventeen steps, were the instruments of torture. Another, called *La Prison de la Cour*, consisted of about fifteen cells and a black torture-room. In this room there is a table covered with black cloth and fringe. Six chairs for the magistrates and secretaries, covered also with black cloth, are elevated two steps above the floor, and painted black. Various engines of torture, some of which are stained with blood, hang round the room. When the criminals suffer, the candles are lighted; for the windows are shut close, to prevent their cries being heard abroad. Two crucifixes are presented to the view of the unhappy objects. But it is too shocking to relate their different modes of cruelty. Even women are not spared. This room seems much like the torture-room in Spain, described in Limborch’s *History of the Inquisition*, translated by Chandler: ‘It was a large under-ground room, arched, and the walls covered with black hangings. The candlesticks were fastened to the wall, and the whole room enlightened with candles placed in them. The inquisitor and notary sat at a table, so that the place seemed as the very mansion of death, everything appearing so very terrible and awful.’”*

“In the house of correction the keeper ordered his servant to attend me with charcoal and frankincense; a certain sign of negligence and inattention, which the countenances of the prisoners confirmed.”

“I was agreeably relieved from the pain excited by these scenes, with the view of the two hospitals of *Les Frères* and *Les Sœurs de Charité*. In the former were about

* Foreign Prisons, p. 114.

forty beds; in the latter twenty: the wards were about twenty-six feet wide. All was neat and clean, still and quiet; and the great attention paid to the patients was everywhere apparent. I saw the operation of bleeding performed by the *nuns* with great dexterity and tenderness. Over the foot of each bed a text of Scripture was inscribed, as in some Italian hospitals.”*

“The prison at Ratisbon is in the town-house. Many of the chambers are airy, and most of them have stoves. There are no dungeons, but three dark cellars for torture, at which two senators, their secretary, and the hangman with his valets, assist. At Munich, and most other places, a surgeon also attends; but I heard of no such custom here.”†

“At Nuremburg the *prison* is under the town-house: it is one of the worst prisons I ever saw. The dark unhealthy dungeons, and the dismal torture-chamber, do no honour to the magistracy of this city. In this chamber on the wall is inscribed a gingling verse, which I here insert, as perhaps no traveller but myself has ever seen it: —

‘*Ad mala patrata sunt atra theatra parata 1753.*’

The gaoler makes use of a low trick to prevent the escape of his prisoners, by terrifying them with the apprehensions of falling under the power of witches. In several of the German gaols there are dungeons for those that are accused of witchcraft, but they seem to have been long disused: and, I hope, increasing light and good sense will soon entirely banish the *fears* of witches, and consequently the *witches themselves*.”‡

“At Schwabach is a large *house of correction*. Some regulations are liberal, and worth transcribing. It is observed, that ‘there is great error in expecting that a house of this kind should be able to *maintain itself*; since, with the strictest economy, a *considerable annual sum* will be

* Foreign Prisons, p. 115.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

found necessary for its proper support.' The greatest attention to *cleanliness* is inculcated; bathing rooms are provided for the prisoners; and the expense of *washing* for them is reckoned an object not to be regarded. It is remarked to be 'a very false notion, that a man who lives upon *bread* and *water* can work hard and be kept in health;' accordingly, a daily allowance of *hot provisions* is ordered for the criminals. It is mentioned as an essential point, in order to preserve order, and prevent abuses, 'that *one of the city magistrates* should every week in rotation visit the house, and closely inspect everything relative to its management.'" *

"At Bayreuth the prisoners were all working on marble. Their pale countenances were a sign that the work was laborious, and that the keeper had the whole profit."

"At Wurtzburgh house of correction ninety prisoners were employed in a well-regulated woollen manufactory."

Howard proceeded thence to Frankfort, in the five prisons of which place he found only six inmates. At Cologne there were but few criminals. Here, and at Frankfort, they were employed in beating stone to powder for a cement. Thence he proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he found the great prison unoccupied; but of another he says —

"In the guard prison near the *Maison de Ville* there were two prisoners; one of whom was a very old man with irons on one hand, who was confined on suspicion, and had twice suffered the torture to force a discovery of his confederates." †

Whilst on this journey Howard does not appear to have made notes on general subjects, or to have

* Foreign Prisons, pp. 116, 117.

† Ib. 123.

recorded thoughts unconnected with the specific purpose of his travels. Yet, as though to prevent the supposition that he could pursue his course unmindful of God's presence, unthankful for His protection, or destitute of Christian fervour, we find at this time the following short but most devout acknowledgment in his memorandum-book : —

“Sun. Ev., Nov. 8. 1778. Hallelujah ! blessing, honour, glory and power be unto God and the Lamb for ever and ever !”

Liege was next visited ; and here, truly, the humane heart of Howard might have sunk in lifeless despondency at the contemplation of the atrocities he describes, had he not been sustained and animated by that faith which excited the above ascription of praise : —

“The two prisons at Liege,” he writes, “the *old* and the *new*, are on the ramparts. In two rooms of the *old* prison I saw six cages, made very strong with iron hoops, four of which were empty. These were dismal places of confinement, but I soon found worse ; in descending deep below ground from the gaoler's apartments, I heard the moans of the miserable wretches in the dark dungeons. The sides and roof were all stone. In wet weather, water from the *fosses* gets into them, and has greatly damaged the floors. Each of them had two small apertures, one for admitting air, and the other, with a shutter over it strongly bolted, for putting in food to the prisoners. One dungeon larger than the rest was appropriated to the sick. In looking into this with a candle I discovered a stove, and felt some surprise at this little escape of humanity from the men who constructed these cells.

“The dungeons in the *new* prison are abodes of misery

still more shocking; and confinement in them so overpowers human nature, as sometimes irrevocably to take away the senses. I heard the cries of the distracted as I went down to them. One woman, however, I saw, who (as I was told) had sustained this horrid confinement forty-seven years without becoming distracted. The cries of the sufferers in the torture-chamber may be heard by passengers without, and guards are placed to prevent them from stopping and listening. A physician and surgeon always attend when the torture is applied; and on a signal given by a bell, the gaoler brings in wine, vinegar, and water, to prevent the sufferers from expiring. ‘*The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.*’ Thus in the Spanish inquisition, the physician and surgeon attend to determine the utmost extremity of suffering without expiring under the torture. I will add, that in this prison there are rooms appropriated to prisoners *en pension*; that is, to such as are confined by the magistrates, at the desire of their parents, guardians, or relations. A shocking practice! which prevails also in some of the neighbouring countries.”*

“In the *Maison de Force* at Liege, Howard found in the treatment an entire contrast to the ruthless barbarities of the other prisons. It was a woollen manufactory for soldiers’ clothes. The lodgings were good, the dietary excessive,—two quarts of beer were allowed each prisoner every day.”†

Thence the Philanthropist went to Brussels, where he again inspected the prisons, and then revisited the *Maison de Force* at Ghent. There the same plans were still pursued, but the prisoners were now allowed a fifth part of all they earned. On his way from Ghent to the Hague, whither Howard went on a visit to Sir Joseph Yorke, he

* *Foreign Prisons*, pp. 124, 125.

† *Ib* p. 125.

examined the prisons of Antwerp, of which we have the following account:—

“In the prison of Antwerp there are two rooms for citizens; and upstairs there is a cage, about six feet and a half square, into which criminals are put before the torture. A criminal, while he suffers the torture, is clothed in a long shirt, has his eyes bound, and a physician and surgeon attend him: and when a confession is forced from him, and wine has been given him, he is required to sign his confession; and about forty-eight hours afterwards he is executed.

“In a small dungeon is a stone seat, like some I have seen in old prison towers, in which it is said that formerly prisoners were *suffocated by brimstone* when their families wished to avoid the disgrace of a public execution. No person here remembers an instance of this kind, but about thirty years ago there was a *private* execution in the prison. In this prison there were only two prisoners.”*

“In the house of correction the men were employed in spinning; the women in making lace. On one side of the court are the young women, who are put in there by their parents or relations.”†

On his return, our humane tourist visited the prison of Lille —

“There being reason to apprehend that some English prisoners (of war) would be removed thither. The prisoners in the citadel were unhealthy from lying in the damp rooms under the fortifications.”‡

Howard's sympathy with his suffering fellow-countrymen in France impelled him to visit them. During a short stay in Paris he reinspected its

* Foreign Prisons, p. 126.

† Ibid.

‡ Ib. p. 136.

prisons and hospitals. The former have been already described. Of the latter he says —

“ *L'Hôpital de St. Louis* for the sick, and *L'Hôtel Dieu*, are indeed the two worst hospitals I ever visited. They were so crowded, that I have frequently seen five or six in one bed, some of them dying. In one of my visits at *L'Hotel Dieu*, I observed the number of patients, written up, to be three thousand six hundred and fifty-five. But though these two hospitals are abominable, and a disgrace to Paris, it has many other charitable foundations which do honour to it, and from which this country may derive useful information. This is a subject foreign to my chief purpose, and I have perhaps already enlarged too much upon it.” *

Pursuing therefore his present purpose, he went to Dunkirk; and he tells us —

“ Here I found many of my countrymen prisoners of war. In five rooms there were a hundred and thirty-three — *captains, mates, passengers*, and common sailors all crowded together — who lay on straw, with one coverlet for every three persons.” † “ The provisions were good: at Bergues they were not so good. The prison at Calais, being smaller than that at Dunkirk, was much crowded, for it contained one hundred and twenty-seven English prisoners. Seventeen sailors lay in one room on straw, without coverlets; a few had not even straw: on my complaining of this to the commissary, he said he would send to St. Omer's for coverlets.” ‡

“ Many of the prisoners in this and other prisons had no change of linen, and some were almost entirely destitute of clothes, being the crews of vessels shipwrecked in the great storm of December 31st, 1778.” §

* Foreign Prisons, p. 149.

† Ib. p. 153.

‡ Ib. p. 152.

§ Ib. p. 154.

We might infer that the benevolent visitor would not be a witness of such distress without attempting to relieve the sufferers; and, accordingly, Dr. Aikin informs us that these poor naked and penniless seamen were clothed at Howard's expense.*

On these visits his patriotism was again proved. Many dishonourable attempts were made to inveigle these prisoners into the French service; he was aware of this, and therefore dissuaded them with so much effect as to occasion offence to the government officials. Moreover, his munificence excited suspicion. Disinterested benevolence is rare in every land: private individuals were not wont to be so liberal as Howard; and therefore they pronounced him a spy; and his charity in their eyes was a largess of the State.

The desire to improve the wretched prisons of his country, to provide a corrective discipline for their inmates, thereby to avert their miseries and amend their morals, had induced this third tour of mercy—during which Howard had travelled nearly 5000 miles. His mind still further stored with information, he now returned to prove its value.

Thomasson had been despatched from Ghent with directions to bring his young master to meet his father in London, and thither the fond parent hastened. On his arrival, his first object was to wait upon the Commissioners for the sick and wounded seamen, to report to them the complaints which some French commissaries, and others in

* Aikin, p. 101.

France, had made of the manner in which the prisoners of war were treated in England. At the same time he represented what our own countrymen were experiencing in their captivity. He proposed to visit the French prisoners, and was therefore furnished with letters of introduction to the agents in the prisons throughout the kingdom.* Having now arranged his business in London, he proceeded to Cardington, accompanied by his son, where during this Christmas vacation the beloved child was ever seen by his father's side; and if the affection was chiefly on the part of the parent, still he might naturally hope it was mutual, and therefore the intercourse tended to cheer and to invigorate Howard for renewed labours of love.

* Brown, p. 314.

CHAPTER XI.

ANOTHER INSPECTION OF ENGLISH GAOLS. — PRISONERS OF WAR AT PLYMOUTH, BRISTOL, WINCHESTER, AND FORTON. — IMPROVED PRISON AT BODMIN. — GAOL FEVER. — BLACK ASSIZE AT OXFORD. — VISITS PRISONS AT PETWORTH, NEWPORT, NORWICH, AND OTHER PLACES. — PROCEEDS TO SOUTH WALES. — ANOTHER JOURNEY TO SCOTLAND. — REVISITS DURHAM. — EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND. — FEW CRIMINALS. — GOES TO IRELAND. — CAUSES OF MANY PRISONERS. — IRISH GAOLS. — RETURNS TO LONDON. — REINSPECTS METROPOLITAN PRISONS. — REVISITS NORTH WALES. — PREPARES APPENDIX TO STATE OF PRISONS. — GOES TO WARRINGTON. — CRUEL CUSTOM AT LIVERPOOL. — PAMPHLET ON THE BASTILE. — APPOINTED COMMISSIONER FOR BUILDING PENITENTIARY. — DIFFICULTIES AND RESIGNATION OF THE OFFICE. — REVISITS HOLLAND. — VAGRANCY OF CHILDREN PREVENTED. — MISTAKEN TREATMENT OF YOUNG OFFENDERS. — THE PROVISION REQUIRED. — HOWARD PROCEEDS TO DENMARK. — PUNISHMENTS OF INFAMY. — ARRIVES AT COPENHAGEN, VISITS PRISONS, ETC. — GOES TO STOCKHOLM. — KING OF SWEDEN QUOTED. — HOWARD AT ST. PETERSBURG. — PUNISHMENT OF THE KNOUT. — WRETCHED PRISONS OF RUSSIA. — JOURNEY TO MOSCOW. — HOWARD'S LIBERALITY. — TRAVELS TO WARSAW, BRESLAU, AND BERLIN. — ANECDOTE OF FIRMNESS.

A FEW weeks passed at Cardington with his child, and the holydays were spent. Howard's vacation ended with them; and on the day the son returned to school the father resumed his labours. He proposed to publish an Appendix to his Book on Prisons, describing the alterations which had been effected, and suggesting further improvements. To this end, he again travelled through several coun-

ties, directing his steps first to the west of England. At Exeter, he found the gaol in its former wretched condition; and, since his previous visit, the surgeon and some prisoners had died of gaol fever. He adds—

“ I found the men together, encouraging and confirming one another in wickedness; and the women are obliged to associate with them in the daytime.” *

But, as we have seen, Howard had pledged himself to inspect the abodes in which prisoners of war were detained; and he began to fulfil this engagement, by visiting one at Plymouth, of which we have the following note:—

“ Feb. 3. 1779. In the Mill-prison there are 392 French prisoners. Wards and courts confined. Not well accommodated with provisions. The hospital, which had fifty patients in it, was dirty and offensive, and I found there only three pairs of sheets in use.” †

In the ship Cambridge there were 396 prisoners, and 250 more were coming in the next day. At Bristol there were 151. The arrangements were better, yet might reasonably be complained of.

But few, amongst the wretched prisons of England, were in a more disgraceful condition, or the scenes of more shocking cruelty and misrule, than those in Cornwall, when Howard before visited that county. On this visit, the heart of the Philanthropist was cheered when he found—

* Book on Prisons, p. 345.

† Ib. p. 156.

“A very convenient and spacious county gaol and house of correction, with separate courts, and rooms for the confinement of each prisoner. It is built on a fine eminence, where there is a constant current of water. There is a good house for the gaoler, a chapel, infirmary, baths, &c. By this spirited exertion, the gentlemen of this county have erected a monument of their humanity and attention to the health and morals of prisoners.”*

Several other prisons were visited on this excursion in the counties of Cornwall, Somerset, and Dorset; and Howard returned to Cardington on or about the 12th of February. On the 25th he commenced another journey. Aylesbury was first visited. Then Oxford gaol; on which he remarks —

“It is very probable that the rooms in this castle are the same as the prisoners occupied at the time of the Black Assize, when all who were present died within forty hours; the lord chief baron, the sheriff, and about three hundred more. Lord Chancellor Bacon ascribes this to a disease brought into court by the prisoners, and Dr. Mead is of the same opinion. The first of these two authors, Lord Bacon, observes, that ‘the most pernicious infection next the plague is the smell of the jail, when the prisoners have been long, and close, and nastily kept; whereof we have had, in our time, experience twice or thrice, when both the judges that sat upon the jail, and numbers of those who attended the business, or were present, sickened upon it and died.’ . . . The wards in the gaol at Oxford are close and offensive; so that, if crowded, I should not greatly wonder to hear of another fatal assize at Oxford.”†

The prisons at Marlborough and Devizes were

* Book on Prisons, p. 353.

† Ib. pp. 11. 303.

next visited: they remained in their former sad condition. Thence Howard proceeded to Winchester, where 1062 French prisoners of war were confined. They were better attended to than at Plymouth, but their benevolent visitor observed —

“Several were confined in the dark hole. Forty days’ confinement on half allowance, in order to pay ten shillings to those that apprehend them after escapes, seems to be too severe a punishment. On such occasions, the observation of the worthy magistrates at Berne always occurs to my mind, ‘that every one must be desirous of regaining liberty.’”*

Pursuing his course to Forton, he inspected another of these establishments, in which were 177 prisoners, ill treated in most respects. The prison “dirty and offensive.” Their meat bad, their bread short of weight, and they justly complained that the inspection of their letters prevented their obtaining redress of these grievances.†

Another proof that his compassionate labours had not been vain was discovered by Howard, on returning home, at Petworth, where the half-starved prisoners were now allowed a two-pound loaf every day:—little enough, but double the quantity previously given. He ascribes this to the kindness of the Duke of Richmond.‡

Ten days were spent at Cardington, and then another journey was undertaken. The south and west having been recently visited, Howard’s course

* *Book on Prisons*, p. 157.

† *Ib.* p. 158.

‡ *Ib.* p. 231.

was now directed eastward. From the bridewell at Newport Pagnell the prisoners had lately made their escape; and he saw with little regret that its "two unwholesome cells in a public house" were, on that account, empty. Thence proceeding to the gaols of Northampton, Coventry, Oakham, and Leicester, he found that some improvements had been made in each. At Wymondham he found "four dirty sickly women at work, with padlocks on their legs. The straw allowed was worn to dust. In the dungeon were stocks."

The bridewells at Aylsham and Acle were most miserable abodes; the latter is thus described:—

"Two rooms. Down nine steps are two dark dungeons, 8 feet by 5 feet 10 inches. Out of repair. No court; no water; no allowance; no straw."*

The prisons in Norwich were still abominable. The treatment which their wretched inmates experienced may be inferred from their being allowed only twelve ounces of bread daily—still a starving pittance, but until lately it had been less. Their dungeons were unfit for any living occupant; and Howard expressed a hope that they might be forever barred, unless for the *very refractory*.

Passing into Suffolk, he found some of its prisons improved; but at Lavenham the escape of a criminal from its *dilapidated* prison had induced the keeper, who had been fined, to chain the rest. Oppression in a two-fold form was not likely to go

* Book on Prisons, p. 253.

unreproved by Howard, who says — “ The *keeper* was *fined*, though the neglect lay in the *magistrates*,”* not one of whom had been there for fifteen years. Thence he proceeded to Chelmsford, and through Barking to London.

Having spent a few days in the metropolis, the persevering Philanthropist renewed his journey: going first to Dartford prison, where some of his recommendations had been attended to. Thence he went to Maidstone; where he found the bridewell, though recently erected, dirty and offensive; and some of its wretched inmates, ill with the small-pox, were lying in the loose straw, with only a mat to cover them. From Maidstone he travelled to Dover and Deal. At the latter place he found some French prisoners confined, and was glad to hear them express satisfaction at their treatment. He then revisited the bridewells of Lewes, Reading, Wycombe, and St. Albans, in all of which vicious customs still prevailed.

Howard again spent ten days at Cardington; and then started, May 5th, on another excursion. Revisiting several prisons on his way, he reached York on the 7th, where he had the gratification of seeing that his advice had been in many respects followed. He then proceeded to Knaresborough: that horrible prison had also been repaired; the sewer had been covered, and the rats excluded. At Carlisle were some French prisoners, shamefully treated, allowed only straw upon which to lie.

* Book on Prisons, p. 260.

Thence, after again inspecting the gaols of Lancaster and Manchester, he returned to Bradford, attracted by a new prison for debtors, which, although just constructed, was not secure. He then revisited the gaols of Hereford, Worcester, and Winchcomb; and, having travelled nearly a thousand miles during fifteen days, temporary rest was again required.

No memorandum informs us of Howard's proceedings during the next fortnight; but, as he was in the neighbourhood of Bristol Hot-Wells, it was probably spent at that favourite resort, especially as he resumed his benevolent exertions at Gloucester. In the gaol of that city he found the most licentious intercourse yet prevailing. Proceeding to South Wales, he found at Brecon a new gaol building. At Cardigan and Carmarthen no improvement had taken place. Of his next inspection we have the following note:—

“ On the 5th and 6th of June, 1779, I visited the prisons at Pembroke. There were fifty-six French prisoners in an old house adjoining to that in which the Americans were confined. Most of them had no shoes or stockings, and some were also without shirts. They had no victualling-table, nor did they know what was their allowance. There were two or three who had their allowance in money, which should have been three shillings and sixpence a week, each, for their aliment; but sixpence was deducted. They lay in general on the boards, without straw; for there were but four hammocks in two rooms, each of which contained eighteen prisoners. Here was a court, but no water or sewer. . . Such observations as these have convinced me, that humanity and good policy require that an inspector

of the prisons of war should be appointed, who should be obliged to report quarterly their state as to health, provisions, &c."*

This sixth tour of benevolent investigation in this year was closed by Howard's revisiting the prison at Cirencester.

A fortnight was accounted long enough for recreation, and when that short time had been spent in Bedfordshire, the Philanthropist set off upon another expedition of mercy, proposing on this occasion to explore many prisons in Scotland and Ireland. On his way he again looked over the gaols at Durham. Little improvement could be discerned in the largest, and he mentions with pain that he saw five young boys confined with some of the most profligate and abandoned criminals. In the bridewell some change for the better had been effected. A suitable keeper had been substituted for the old woman who had the charge on his former visit. At Newcastle, too, some amendment in the prison was observable.

The following extracts from his notes on his Scotch tour represent the defective nature of prison discipline in that country, and show the wise precautions by which crime was prevented, so that its miserable gaols happily had but few occupants:—

“The prisons which I saw in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Stirling, Jedburgh, Ayr, &c. were old buildings, dirty and offensive, without courts, and also generally without water. They are not visited by the magistrates:

* State of Prisons, pp. 158, 159.

and the gaolers are allowed the sale of the most pernicious liquors. . . .

“There are in Scotland but few prisoners; which is partly owing to the shame and disgrace annexed to imprisonment,—partly to the solemn manner in which oaths are administered, and trials and executions conducted,—and partly to the general sobriety of manners produced by the care which *parents* and *ministers* take to instruct the rising generation. In the southern parts of Scotland, it is very rare that you meet with any person that cannot both read and write. It is scandalous for any person not to be possessed of a Bible, which is always read in the parochial schools.” *

The prisons in Ireland were in a state equally bad with those of Scotland, and, as there were not the same preventives of crime, the larger number of inmates presented a grievous contrast. We have several interesting observations on this excursion :

“The criminals in the gaols of Ireland are very numerous, one reason of which may be, that in this country there are no houses of correction; and another, that acquitted persons are continued in confinement till they have discharged their fees to the clerk of the crown or peace, the sheriff, gaoler, and turnkey. Even boys, almost naked, and under the age of twelve, are sometimes confined two years for these fees, though amounting to no more than about forty shillings. How surprising is it that any kingdom can endure such injustice! It is a particular aggravation of it, that the prisoners thus confined generally lose, at the same time, their allowance of bread. I have heard that Mr. Justice Aston always ordered the acquitted prisoners to be discharged. Some boys were lately released from the county gaol at Kilmainham, paying half fees;

* State of Prisons, pp. 162, 163.

and others from Newgate: the sheriffs of Dublin generously relinquished their fees. But as those boys had been associated with the most profligate and abandoned felons for many months, I did not in the least wonder to find that some of them returned to their former habitation in a few days." *

In recording the above enormities of injustice, Howard was not likely to inform us by whose benevolence those poor boys were liberated; but these incidental notices, occurring only when some generosity in others called for commendation, are but the occasional indications of his constant charity. If we wonder that he did not in stronger language deplore and deprecate the contamination he has described, none can imagine that he felt little distress. The supposition is forbidden by these lines which immediately follow, in which the very "apprehension" that evil communications might corrupt is spoken of as "melancholy and dreadful:" —

"On passing this prison (Dublin Newgate) frequently, I could not avoid observing officers from the recruiting regiments waiting at the doors and windows, to receive either the offenders who were permitted to enlist, or any of their associates. When the excessive profligacy and daring wickedness of this set of people is considered, the *most melancholy apprehensions* must be entertained of the *dreadful* consequences likely to result from their mixture with those who may have had a sober education, and have entered voluntarily into the service of their country; and likewise of the danger to society in general, from turning loose such a set of wretches at the close of a war." †

* State of Prisons, p. 167.

† Ibid.

Howard, deeply imbued with that spirit which induced him to esteem others better than himself, whilst concealing, as we have just now seen, his own benevolence, was ever ready to extol the charity of others. Yet there was faithful expostulation, whenever called for, accompanying his praise. After describing the state of the debtors in the Marshalsea at Dublin, he adds —

“ The most needy of them are relieved by the care of a humane society in Dublin, similar to that called the Thatched House Society in London. *Such societies deserve the highest praise.* I wish, however, to recommend to compassion other prisoners, whose miseries have been long hid from the eyes of the public, who, though they seem to deserve assistance less, yet need it more, to save them from the ruin to which the bad state of the Irish prisons exposes them.”*

Amongst other numerous evils described, are the following: —

“ I am sorry to mention the common and pernicious use of spirituous liquors in the Irish prisons. . . . I found eleven young creatures who for small offences were confined with outrageous lunatics of both sexes.”†

Grieved at what he had discovered, but more determined to persevere in his endeavours to correct the vicious customs and to alleviate the miseries he had witnessed, Howard now returned to Cardington, and we observe that only four days elapsed ere he again left that home, and on the 4th of August proceeded to London to reinspect the metropolitan

* State of Prisons, p. 168.

† Ibid.

prisons. A fortnight was devoted by the unwearied philanthropist to this work; and although he was not likely to rest from labour whilst wrongs however trifling were inflicted, or the least misery claimed relief, yet he accounted a little improvement reward enough to encourage, and compensation more than deserved. When, therefore, he discerned in almost every London gaol some alteration for the better, both in their construction and management, he regarded this as the earnest of much good, and greatly rejoiced in the success which had been granted.

Again, after an interval of a few days, Howard made another excursion into North Wales, revisiting many prisons; and though his efforts to meliorate their condition had not been very effective as yet in these more remote parts, still he saw improvement enough to forbid despondency. His next tour, in the month of September, was through the Eastern Counties, and during a week in October he again traversed the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, and Buckingham, deriving from all he witnessed motives for continued exertion in his philanthropic work.

A few days were now spent in Bedfordshire, when the diligent inspector again examined the prisons of his own county; and afterwards went to London, and remained there through the month of November, chiefly occupied, with the assistance of his friends Mr. Densham and Dr. Price, in arranging for publication the additional information on the state of

prisons, which his further travels of eleven thousand miles had furnished. During his stay in the metropolis Howard again inspected the hulks on the Thames, and learned with much satisfaction that his former representations had produced most happy results. The convicts were clean, well clad, and comparatively healthy, and the discipline was greatly amended. When his various notes were properly arranged, he repaired to Warrington, where, having again secured the assistance of Dr. Aikin, he superintended the printing of an Appendix to his Book on Prisons.

The author, though very careful and constant, as before, in correcting the press, was more active than the compositor; and, during the progress of the work, he made an excursion to Liverpool, where, having again inspected the prisons of that important town, he described some merciless and foolish customs in the bridewell, as affording a painful proof that even the humane provisions of an Act may be perverted in a manner alike degrading and cruel: —

“ This prison was built in 1776. . . . The women have a large work-room, near which, in the men’s court, is a *pump*, to which the women are tied every week and receive discipline. In this court is also a bath with a new and singular contrivance. At one end of it is a standard for a long pole, at the extremity of which is fastened a chair. In this all the females (not the males) at their entrance, after a few questions, are placed, with a flannel shift on, and undergo a thorough ducking, thrice repeated — a use of a bath which I dare say the Legislature never

thought of when in their late Act they ordered baths, with a view to cleanliness and preserving the health of prisoners; not for the exercise of a wanton and dangerous kind of severity.”*

At the beginning of the year 1780 Howard published his Appendix to the State of Prisons, a 4to volume of 220 pages, with numerous costly illustrations. It was then distributed with the same liberality as his former book. When this was completed he remained several weeks longer at Warrington, preparing an 8vo edition of the former work, with which the new matter of his Appendix was incorporated.† He also printed at the same time a most interesting pamphlet descriptive of the Bastille. This was a translation of a very scarce tract, written by one who had been a prisoner in that dreadful abode, and exposed some of the atrocities he had himself experienced, and others which were therein perpetrated. The sale of the original publication was prohibited by the French Government under the most severe penalties. Howard, after many vain endeavours, at length secured a copy, and he tells us that he appreciated and published it —

“Not merely as an object of curiosity, but as affording a very interesting and instructive comparison between the horrors of despotic power, and the mild and just administration of equal laws in a free state.”

* State of Prisons, p. 398.

† As this edition is more generally known, I have made my references to its pages.

With this patriotic view, the low price of sixpence was affixed; and, lest he should be charged with exaggerating the cruelty described, he reprinted, with his characteristic prudence, the original document.

The value of Howard's Appendix was enhanced, as Dr. Aikin observes,—and his professional talent enabled him to estimate the matter correctly,—by the observations on various hospitals he visited:

"He made them an avowed object of his examination; a circumstance, it may be supposed, not a little pleasing to his medical friends. For although the knowledge collected by a professional man with similar opportunities would doubtless have been more applicable to the purposes of science, yet matter of fact, accurately stated by a sensible observer, must ever have its value. Besides, when can we expect to see the spirit and qualities of a Howard, united, in one of our profession, with his fortune and leisure?" *

The conclusion of his Appendix not only declares the feelings and intentions of the Philanthropist, but is connected with subsequent events in his life: it is therefore transcribed:—

"Having thus, according to my ability, completed the design I had engaged in, it was my intention immediately to have retired to a tranquil enjoyment of that easy competence which a kind Providence has bestowed upon me:—happy in the reflection that I had been, in some degree, an instrument in alleviating the sufferings of a numerous and unhappy set of people; and of exciting the attention of my countrymen to an important object of civil policy. Nor can I forbear expressing the additional satisfaction I

* Aikin, p. 92.

have felt in reflecting, that I have avoided giving any possible occasion to impute what I have done to self-interested views; for, as nothing but a firm persuasion that it was my duty could have enabled me to go through all the disagreeable scenes which lay before me, so I had the happiness of being placed out of the reach of any other incitements.

“My resolutions, however, were broken in upon by the urgent persuasion of some, who were pleased to think me a proper person to assist in superintending one of those great and useful plans I had recommended to the notice of the public: and I was induced more readily to comply with their solicitations, by a confidence that those who were to be associated with me had the same general ideas with myself, respecting the execution of the proposed plan, and would cooperate in it with zeal and ability.

“It remains now to be tried, how far the wise and humane intentions of the Legislature can be accomplished in this country; and what use can be made of those lights which it was the particular purpose of my foreign journeys to collect.”

As implied in the foregoing passage, Howard was appointed a Commissioner for carrying into execution an Act (19 George III. c. 74.) for the erection of two Penitentiary houses. His favourable report of the prisons in Holland induced the Legislature to determine upon the adoption of a similar treatment of criminals in this country; and it was proposed that suitable buildings should be constructed under the superintendence of three competent persons. Howard was, of course, selected as best qualified for such an office, and, by his own desire, his friend Dr. Fothergill, whose experience as a physician he very highly valued, and Mr.

Whatley, a gentleman of distinguished benevolence, who had been for many years treasurer of the Foundling Hospital*, were associated with him. The qualifications of the Philanthropist were more clearly discerned by others than himself; and although connected with persons so well able to assist in the undertaking, it was with reluctance that he accepted the office, and not until very strongly urged to do so by his friends, especially by Sir William Blackstone, who was a chief promoter of the design. A proof of his disinterestedness was afforded on this occasion by his refusing any compensation for the labour which such an appointment entailed. This is not the place to inquire whether the plan proposed was in all respects promising of good: certainly it was a vast improvement on all that were at that time pursued; and its failure, from circumstances we must now mention, is matter of regret. It appeared that Dr. Fothergill and Howard agreed on a spot at Islington as most desirable for the erection of the first Penitentiary, whereas Mr. Whatley selected some land at Limehouse as more eligible. Each party was too confident in the wisdom of the choice made, to concede the point to the other. Dr. Fothergill died, and there was then little hope that the survivors would agree upon the required site.

* This benevolent man was not only a liberal contributor to the hospital, but bequeathed a considerable sum "for the relief of poor objects who, having been there brought up, should apply for aid; with the hope that others, seeing its utility, would augment that fund."

Howard's biographers have too much censured his colleague, without observing that the similarity of character in these two excellent men was the real cause of dissension. We have seen already, and further proof will appear, that the subject of our Memoir, always acting upon principle, once having settled his purposes, was thenceforth inflexible. He was now associated with one who, if he resembled him in the benevolence of his life, was alike uncompromising. Both were convinced, and neither would give way. It must, however, be added, that before the death of Dr. Fothergill, Howard had been confirmed in his opinion by a circumstance which he has himself described:—

“The object I am sensible is great, but it is useful. If I should not be able to accomplish this good work, I would still endeavour to bring materials, and lay the foundation; that others of more skill may undertake the benevolent task, and carry to perfection a plan worthy of the great Sir William Blackstone, with whom I had the honour of much conversation on this subject. This great and good man Dr. Fothergill saw just before he died, to whom he then turned and asked ‘what progress we had made in the penitentiary houses.’ The doctor answered that we had paid all possible attention to the sentiments of others respecting a situation; that we must soon be obliged to request the opinion of our judges concerning it; and till this was obtained, we could not proceed much further. ‘BE FIRM IN YOUR OWN —’ was all that he was able to say, as he soon after departed to a better life.”*

The following sentence, in the next page of his

* Observations on Penitentiary Houses, p. 222.

work, is not only characteristic of Howard, but justifies the view which has been taken of this affair:—

“Mr. Justice Blackstone’s dying words, ‘*BE FIRM IN YOUR OWN OPINION,*’ seem to *me* the *most important direction* for our conduct.”

Two years passed, and the preliminary arrangements were not settled, nor was there much hope that the design would be accomplished. Resignation of his appointment was therefore tendered by Howard, in a letter to Earl Bathurst, dated January, 1781.

Far as Howard’s travels had extended, and vast as the sphere of his investigation had been, there were still countries inviting his philanthropic exertions, whose scenes of woe were as yet unexplored, where relief might possibly be given, or some lesson of compassion learned. The distant prisons of Denmark and Russia had not been visited; and if his humane and holy exertions failed for a time in his native land, his charity was not therefore restrained, but would diffuse its precious influence over regions more remote. Darwin is sometimes chargeable with extravagance, yet his lines, when describing Howard, are scarcely the language of exaggeration; certainly no transgression of poetic licence:—

“And now, Benevolence! thy rays divine
Dart round the globe from Zembla to the Line;
O’er each dark prison plays the cheering light,
Like northern lustres o’er the vault of night. —

From realm to realm, with cross or crescent crown'd,
Where'er mankind and misery are found,
O'er burning sands, deep waves, or wilds of snow,
Thy Howard journeying seeks the house of woe."

On the 27th of May, 1781, Howard crossed to Ostend, and thence proceeded to Rotterdam, where he reinspected the prisons. He describes a recent occurrence at the rasp-house:—

"At the whipping-post, which was in the middle of the court, in full view of the male criminals, some of our dexterous countrymen, but a few months before, had undergone a severe flagellation for melting their pewter spoons, and forming them into keys, for the purpose of opening the doors of their prison. The metal was hardened with a mixture procured from an apothecary as a remedy for the tooth-ache. The scheme was defeated, however, by the treachery of an English Jew, who, for this service, obtained his liberty, though he had been committed for thirty years." *

Again at Bremen he obtained permission to revisit its prisons. There he had evidence of the strictness with which discipline was enforced upon the keepers, as well as upon those in custody. One of the former had suffered a prisoner to converse with a person in the town, and for the offence was in confinement for fourteen days upon bread and water. The doors of the cells in this prison were five inches thick and plated with iron, yet a prisoner had recently escaped. In another prison he found six dungeons without windows, and measuring only seven feet by five. In one of these

* Brown, p. 347.

dreary receptacles, a wretched criminal had lately beaten himself to death against the wall, upon which his blood remained. Leaving this abode of horrors, the humane traveller was consoled by a visit to the poor-house, where the aged and infirm appeared happy. Nor was this the only pleasing institution at Bremen. One had lately been established, at which the young children of the poor were educated during part of the day, and usefully employed for a few hours in spinning. And thus the number of begging children for which this town was notorious had been greatly diminished. The writer himself saw an establishment similar to this at Ghent — *L'Atelier de Charité*: the avowed object of which was “*pour l'extirpation de la mendicité*,”* and it excited an earnest desire that some arrangements of a like kind might prevent the vagrancy, idleness, and vice to which the destitute children of England are trained. Having mentioned this subject, he cannot immediately pass from it. Howard indeed says but little about young offenders. They were not so numerous in his day; but the gaol at Dublin, we have seen, tended to multiply them, and, from that time to the present, negligence and mismanagement have frightfully increased the progeny. We are perhaps now sufficiently alive to the necessity of education. Enough of secular instruction will ere long be provided, which, if sanctified by religious teaching and discipline, will tend to the prevention of crime. But the plans hitherto

* See *Prison Discipline*, vol. ii. p. 385.

adopted for the correction of juvenile delinquents have for the most part been mischievous and absurd. It was long the practice to commit children, chargeable with some trifling fault, to the gaol fellowship of the adult felon, to be schooled for a future life of debauchery and lawlessness. Such enormous folly is now rare. Acts of such atrocious wickedness, far surpassing any guilt the young offender could have contracted, are seldom perpetrated. Measures are taken to prevent contamination, and means employed to correct the culprit. The former may be effectual, but the latter are defective and inadequate. It has been a fatal mistake to suppose, that the vicious propensities of children might be checked by a little *punishment*, which idea has often occasioned a *short imprisonment*, perhaps attended with corporal chastisement. The effect has been, that such treatment, instead of deterring from future offences, has often entailed a whole life of crime. If the penalty alone were looked to, and the correction of the offender altogether disregarded, there would be reason in pursuing such a course; but if, besides chastisement, reformation be desired, wisdom must suggest a very different proceeding. Imprisonment itself must occasion reproach, and, when to this the infamy of flogging is added, the child is often degraded to an irrecoverable depth: and this is commonly the case if, having been thus debased, he is soon after liberated; the most abandoned then claim him as a companion, and he ere long becomes

one of their class. Punishment itself, therefore, tends to demoralize, unless a counteracting agency be provided, and time allowed for the means of improvement to be applied.

The writer has in other volumes endeavoured to plead the cause of this poor, helpless, destitute, and most dangerous class; but many of Howard's notes on foreign prisons remind the reader of what is especially needful in our own land. In the foregoing pages, houses of refuge and schools of industry for children, and suitable provision for the orphans of criminals, have been mentioned. We require similar establishments, not merely for the outcast, the bereaved, and destitute, but, still more, for the offspring of depraved and vicious parents, who, both by precept and example, perpetuate crime. If children, after imprisonment, return to such evil influence, and mix with former companions, they are encouraged—sometimes compelled—to transgress again, and their ruin is almost ensured. Little has yet been done in this kingdom to prevent consequences so disastrous and so easily foreseen. One institution—the Philanthropic—whose name so well denotes the character of its supporters, has, by the success of its operations, been a constant admonition of what was required. Its plans have been recently improved by the establishment of a Farm School at Reigate; and should such penal arrangements be multiplied, the permanent reformation of our young offenders may then be expected.

The extension of plans so advantageous to all ought to be effected by legislative enactments, and not left dependent upon the limited resources of private benevolence. Facts enough may be adduced to convince the political economist, that to spare any requisite expense, in such a case, is short-sighted policy. But the cost to the state might be in a measure lessened by a salutary means calculated to prevent many offences. The failure of prison discipline, as respects young offenders, may, to a great extent, be ascribed to our considering them alone as concerned in the crime for which they suffer, overlooking the responsibility of those entrusted with their moral culture. Should the careless parent wilfully expose a child to the injury of its body, he becomes liable to a penalty: let the more culpable negligence, or the cruel encouragement to offences,—which may almost invariably be traced when children are convicted,—entail some payment for the punishment, instead of proving, as at present, a pecuniary gain. The base parent now derives a profit from his pilfering child. He shares the booty which has been obtained; and when the culprit is detected, the very imprisonment is to him—and to him alone—some advantage,—inasmuch as that parent is exempt from all cost and care. Often has the writer discovered that the first offence of which the law has taken cognizance, has been induced by some alluring promise, or enforced by the fierce threat of an unnatural father.* The

* See Appendix.

fact that nearly half our juvenile delinquents are the offspring of criminals suggests the strongest argument for exacting the payment which has been proposed. With what equity can parochial authorities demand compensation for the support of an innocent and well-instructed child, whilst the authorities of the prison can ask no payment for the maintenance, education, and clothing of the young offender whose guilt has been the result of parental negligence, vicious precepts, or pernicious example?

Howard proceeded from Bremen to Harburgh, where he saw a number of slaves at work in chains, and guarded by soldiers, yet some had a short time before escaped to Hamburg—the Elbe being frozen over. At Hamburg he revisited the Bütteley and similar institutions, amongst them the hospital, which was formerly the *Pest-house*, which name he thought from its offensiveness might properly have been retained.

Rendsburg was the first town in Denmark which the Philanthropist visited. There he found a large body of slaves employed upon the fortifications. The allowance of food was liberal, and he observed that their appearance was more healthful than that of the common people, which he ascribed to the deprivation of all spirituous liquors. At the entrance to this and other towns a whipping-post was conspicuous, with a figure on the top, of a man with a sword at his side and a whip in his hand. Howard had not yet learned the effect of familiarizing the public mind with infamous punishments, or seen

their tendency to debase the sufferer, and therefore expressed the hope that the exhibition might have a deterring effect. The humane desire that crime might be prevented, excited the hope ; but reason could give no warrant to expect it would be realised, and experience has proved the contrary. Similar plans have been pursued in Sweden, and with what result we have already seen. Happily the Sovereign of that country has discerned their vicious influence, and has prevailed upon the King of Denmark to unite with him in suppressing punishments so prolific in producing evils they were designed to prevent. The following extract from the interesting volume of King Oscar expresses his opinion, based upon experience :—

“ Flogging, which is attended with indelible dishonour, is perhaps less reasonable than even capital punishment. The latter destroys the physical being of the criminal, the former almost takes away the possibility of his improvement. The right of punishment in the State, whose object by it is to restore violated justice, and to warn and improve, has wandered so widely from its original idea, that it degrades, renders the return from a course of crime almost impossible, and leaves the choice of misery or the scaffold. How many examples of this, as grievous to humanity as they are dangerous to the public safety, does our country afford ! Is there not thus formed a class of Parias, or moral outlaws, who are compelled to feel themselves in a continued warfare with society ? ” *

The further description which Howard has given us of the punishments inflicted in Denmark, more

* Punishments and Prisons, pp. 15, 16.

fully accounts for the increase of crime. The penalty for some offences was that of being compelled to walk through the streets, attended by officers of justice, in what was termed the Spanish Mantle—a sort of barrel, narrow at the top, through which the head passed ; it was then suspended from the shoulders, and reached down to the knees. The helpless object was thus exposed to the derision of the populace. Another attempt to scare offenders was by leaving in public view the gibbets, and wheels, upon which were the bodies of criminals who had been hanged or broken.* These depraving spectacles here, as elsewhere, produced the effect which has been described in foregoing pages.

In July Howard reached Copenhagen. He there visited the state prison of the citadel, and found the inmates were never allowed to leave their rooms. At another prison he saw a number of women well employed, and healthful ; but the men presented a contrast, and their apartments were in a filthy state, which is accounted for by the circumstance that the gaoler here, as was common in England, kept a public-house. Here were 143 slaves, who were in iron collars and chains, their clothes in rags, being only allowed one suit in two years, and obliged to wear them night and day. One convict was fastened to a wheel-barrow, having attempted to escape. “ The pale sickly countenances of the slaves in the dungeons,” says their merciful visitor, “ were shock-

* Appendix to State of Prisons, p. 29.

ing to humanity." On a subsequent visit to this prison he was pleased to find that some of his remonstrances had been regarded. Still in its best state it was offensive, and the severe headache which its impure atmosphere occasioned reminded Howard of his sensations when visiting the worse gaols in his native land. In the spin-house of this city about 400 prisoners were preparing wool for the immense military clothing manufactory, to which all the wool spun in houses of correction was sent. The poor-houses also were inspected, where nearly 1000 were lodged, but provided food for themselves by spinning. The hospitals were clean; but the orphan-house, in which were 225 boys, was badly regulated and dirty. Leaving Copenhagen, he crossed the Sound and arrived at Stockholm.

On his journey the comparative cleanliness of the houses attracted his attention, and he hoped that the public institutions might resemble them; in which expectation he was disappointed. Three prisons were visited in Stockholm, all of which were filthy and offensive. The mode of execution was commonly by the axe, but women were subsequently burned with the scaffold. The king, Gustavus III., had abolished the torture; in proof of which, Howard was told that a dark cellar in which it was inflicted had been bricked up. He had been too often deceived to confide in mere statements, and therefore insisted upon seeing the wall: he found the order had not been obeyed, and the scene of horror was still open. In the dark and foul prison

for the south division of the city, five prisoners were discovered almost suffocated. Then, as on a recent occasion, the neglect and wretchedness so evident was assignable to the gaoler's sale of liquors, which was commonly allowed in Sweden. In this case he was found drinking with his prisoners and other dissolute persons. Self-indulgence had produced acerbity ; and when his compassionate visitor expostulated with him concerning some starving victims of his oppression, that expostulation was only met with repulsive coarseness and further proofs of savage cruelty. Howard's charity was the more excited by the hardheartedness of this relentless wretch, and relief was more liberally bestowed. The rasp-house at Stockholm contained nearly 200 prisoners, associated without respect to age or sex. As an inducement to industry, the duration of punishment was regulated by the work performed. Amidst so much to corrupt, and so many preventives to correction, we cannot wonder that since the days of Howard crime has so frightfully increased in Sweden. Happily for that country, its present Sovereign, as we have seen, has determined to apply a remedy ; and, with wisdom and zeal worthy of such a cause, has personally laboured to accomplish his desire. If the task, through long neglect, be arduous, it is not hopeless ; and accordingly he writes —

“ Sweden seems in all respects ripe for the appropriation of an improved criminal legislation. . . . The evil has spread so widely, and threatens so fearfully to extend

its contagious ravages, that patchwork is not sufficient for its cure. A dear-bought experience of the insufficiency of the old punishments, and of their debasing nature, has enlightened the public mind, and prepared for a transition to a better legal doctrine.”*

The writer learned, with much satisfaction, at the late meeting of the *Congrès Pénitenciaire*, that the reformation of penal discipline was rapidly advancing; that prisons containing 1500 cells were proposed, and in process of construction, in which the prisoners would be subjected to adequate punishment, and at the same time provided with means of improvement. The enlightened and Christian views of the Sovereign are thus further expressed:—

“The prisoner must feel deeply that he is undergoing a deserved punishment, he must feel the whole weight of the power of the law which he has despised and transgressed. The religious instruction of the prisoner is the most certain foundation, on which all improvement must be supported, the root from which all regeneration must proceed, in order to possess freshness and to bear good fruit. Without this, all outward change in the prisoner’s conduct is only hypocrisy; his mind remains as hardened as before, having made progress only in cunning and artifice.”†

Whilst travelling in these inclement regions, Howard found the inconvenience of having accustomed himself to a vegetable diet, and to the entire abstinence from wine and spirits. The sour unwholesome bread of the country, with tea, formed

* Punishments and Prisons, p. 26.

† Ib. p. 126.

his only nourishment ; and, probably, the impossibility of obtaining that food which had now become necessary for his health obliged him to hasten his departure. He was anxious to inspect the prisons and hospitals of Russia without being known, that he might better ascertain their real condition : accordingly, when he came near St. Petersburg, he left his carriage and walked into the city alone. The Empress, however, received information of his arrival, and sent him permission to appear at court ; of which he never availed himself, but told the messenger that he “ had devoted himself to visit the prisons of the captive, and not the courts or the palaces of kings.” *

The state of Russia at this time, just emerging from gross ignorance, yet still semi-barbarous, — its peasants slaves, and their lords cruelly despotic — promised the Philanthropist but little pleasure ; perhaps less available instruction. Yet there was very much that might well attract his attention. It was his determination to investigate everything which might tend to the relief or welfare of his fellow-men. The clemency which was reported of the Empress was little in accordance with the cruelty he believed to be practised in her dominions ; and he resolved to ascertain the truth. It was the boast of Russia at this time, that no capital punishment was inflicted. Howard had reason to believe that, although professedly abolished, except for treason, it was in effect retained, and that the change

* Brown, p. 357.

really consisted in substituting a more barbarous method of execution. His suspicions induced him to adopt the following bold expedient, the particulars of which he described to his friend Dr. Brown : —

“ He did not look for exact information to the courtiers of the Empress, or to the chief ministers of justice, because he judged that they would be disposed to exalt by their representations the glory of their Sovereign ; but, taking a hackney coach, he drove directly to the abode of the executioner. The man was astonished and alarmed at seeing any person, having the appearance of a gentleman, enter his door,—which was precisely the state of mind his visitor wished to find him in ; and he endeavoured to increase his confusion by the tone, aspect, and manner which he assumed. Acting, therefore, as though he had authority to examine him, he told him that if his answers to the questions he should propose were conformable to truth, he had nothing to fear. He accordingly promised that they should be so ; when Howard asked, ‘ Can you inflict the knout so as to occasion death in a short time ? ’ ‘ Yes, I can,’ was the answer. ‘ In how short a time ? ’ ‘ In a day or two.’ ‘ Have you ever so inflicted it ? ’ ‘ I have.’ ‘ Have you lately ? ’ ‘ Yes, the last man who was punished with my hands by the knout died of the punishment.’ ‘ In what manner do you thus render it mortal ? ’ ‘ By one or more strokes on the sides, which carry off large pieces of flesh.’ ‘ Do you receive orders thus to inflict the punishment ? ’ ‘ I do.’ At the close of this curious dialogue Mr. Howard left the executioner, fully satisfied that the honour of abolishing capital punishment had been ascribed to the infliction of a cruel, lingering, and private death, in lieu of one sudden and public. It was most probably to this very instance of the fatal infliction of this barbarous punishment that he himself was an eye-witness,

and which he thus describes : ‘ Aug. 10. 1781, I saw two criminals, a man and a woman, suffer the punishment of the knot. They were conducted from prison by about fifteen hussars and ten soldiers. When they arrived at the place of punishment, the hussars formed themselves into a ring round the whipping-post, the drum beat a minute or two, and then some prayers were read, the populace taking off their hats. The woman was taken first ; and after being roughly stripped to the waist, her hands and feet were bound with cords to a post made for the purpose, a man standing before the post, and holding the cords to keep them tight. A servant attended the executioner, and both were stout men. The servant first marked his ground and struck the woman five times on the back. Every stroke seemed to penetrate deep into the flesh. But his master, thinking him too gentle, pushed him aside, took his place, and gave all the remaining strokes himself, which were evidently more severe. The woman received twenty-five, and the man sixty : I pressed through the hussars, and counted the number as they were chalked on a board ; both seemed but just alive, especially the man, who yet had strength enough to receive a small donation with some signs of gratitude. They were conducted back to prison in a little waggon. I saw the woman in a very weak condition some days after, but could not find the man any more.’ The kind of weapon from which he no doubt received his death wound is thus described amongst the instruments of punishment which the governor of the Petersburg police himself showed to our illustrious countryman, and explained to him their use. ‘ The knot whip is fixed to a wooden handle a foot long, and consists of several thongs about two feet in length twisted together, to the end of which is fastened a single tough thong of a foot and a half, tapering towards a point, and capable of being changed by the executioner when too much softened by the blood of the criminal.’ But, besides this savage scourge, he was shown the axe and block ; the machine

then out of use for breaking the arms and legs, and the instrument for splitting the nostrils of offenders; that for branding them, by puncturation, and then rubbing a black powder on the wounds; and another called a cat, which consisted of a number of thongs varying from two to ten." *

From objects so revolting to humanity, so heart-rending to Howard, he turned away with little hope that the prisons of a country in which such atrocious acts were perpetrated could afford any relief to his wounded feelings. Nor did the inspection prove that his apprehensions were unfounded. The fortress was the first visited, where he found a number of deserters and criminals crowded into a small room, in which they were almost stifled. The slaves, who had logs fastened to both legs, were in a still more horrible condition. In two low cellars were a number more, whose precarious subsistence was entirely dependent upon the contributions given in boxes hung before their grates. A new prison was equally offensive, and revealed scenes of similar wretchedness. In another like abode, children and adults, with irons on both legs, were mingled as in one mass of misery and guilt.

If the perusal of these horrors has excited a pang in the breast of the reader, similar to that which our philanthropist felt, it is the privilege of the writer to afford consolation which Howard could not find. The punishment of the knout is abolished, and the prisons of Russia are greatly improved. England in Howard's day taught few lessons of clemency.

* Brown, p. 358, *et seq.*

Her prisons showed no pattern for improvement; but our criminal code has been corrected, our penal discipline amended; and Christian gratitude was combined with patriotic pride, when recently in a foreign city, amidst the representatives of Europe, it was the happiness of the author, as an Englishman, to hear that the discontinuance of the knout and other cruelties, with the adoption of a reformatory penal treatment, was assignable to the evident justice and wisdom of plans now pursued in our native land. At the *Congrès Pénitenciaire* at Brussels, the deputy from Russia announced, amidst the shouts of the assembly —

“ After his return from England, the Emperor instituted a special committee for the reform of prisons, and ordered the erection of a model prison similar to that at Pentonville. The Russian penal code has undergone a complete transformation. They have begun with the knout—this word still produces horror. Well, *the knout has not existed for two years.*”

In visiting the hospitals of St. Petersburg, Howard gladly discerned a better spirit than he had elsewhere discovered. They were clean, comfortable, and well regulated. He also admired another institution, under the control of the Empress, for the education of the female children of her nobility and of a few commoners.

A circumstance occurred during his stay in this city, which reflects honour upon a Russian officer; whilst it proves that Howard's character was most highly appreciated. A public society testified to

General Bulgarkow its estimate of his charity in enlarging some benevolent institutions, and especially in liberally supporting a seminary for young ladies without fortunes, by presenting him with a gold medal. The generous soldier proved how well the honour was deserved. He spoke in humble terms of his own exertions to do good, as limited to the country of his birth; but said there was one there amongst them whose philanthropy was known to the world, and whose humanity extended to all nations. He was more worthy of the distinction. Accordingly, he sent the medal to Howard.*

When our benevolent traveller had thoroughly examined the prisons and hospitals of St. Petersburg, he made an excursion for a like purpose to Cronstadt. He was always careful in his investigations, and very cautious not to describe any fact which was not fully ascertained; and therefore the forewarning that anything he might write concerning Russia would certainly be translated into the language of that country, was but a further incentive to strict and persevering research.

Before leaving St. Petersburg, Howard was attacked with ague; yet he would not suffer the pain and prostration attending that disease to hinder his progress. The journey to Moscow was long, and the road rough and unfrequented; but these circumstances could not detain him. An escort was offered; but that savoured of ostentation, and was therefore declined. Having purchased a

* Brown, p. 363.

light carriage, he travelled the 500 miles in five days and nights; not pulling off his clothes until the journey was accomplished, when, to use his own expression, he "had travelled his ague off." On one stage of his progress, the kind-hearted tourist—who never allowed the proper conduct of even a temporary hireling to pass unrewarded—having been driven much to his satisfaction, gave the postilions half-a-crown, about ten times the usual gratuity. The poor fellows were suspicious, and afraid to receive so large a sum. He told them he had entrusted his life to them, and they must therefore take it. The amount *expected* would regulate the gifts of most men. Howard followed another rule: he measured his bounty by what was proper for him to bestow, not by what was lawful for others to demand.

Notwithstanding the rapidity of his progress, and the sacrifice of personal comfort, yet as wretchedness had always power to arrest his steps, so he would stay to inspect the prisons on his road. Those of Wischner, Wolotschok, and Tver, were therefore visited. They were shockingly offensive, and a physician who accompanied him to the first would not look into more than one room. Howard, fearless in duty, and, whilst performing it, always confiding in Divine protection, ventured into all. There he found some miserable objects chained together by the neck, and subsisting entirely by casual charity. Arrived at Moscow, he at once proceeded to the Great Prison of that city. There,

in one part, he found a Russian of some rank in solitary seclusion for cruelty towards his slaves ; in another place were several cages, in two of which were men in fetters chained by their necks to the wall. In another prison, besides those chains, a log was fastened to the criminal ; and a soldier with a drawn sword kept guard in every room. All the inmates were dirty and sickly. Of the debtors and soldiers, in their respective gaols, he gives a like account. The pious visitor was greatly offended when on a Sunday he visited two prisons, and found the inmates employed as on other days. The hospitals of Moscow, like those of the modern capital of Russia, were commended by their visitor ; who, in his walk through their wards, endeavoured to give a salutary lesson by here and there opening a window.

Proceeding to Warsaw, he there visited the wretched abodes of crime ; but soon discovered that no useful lessons could be derived from their regulations. Their condition may be inferred from the description of one, of which he says, " In one room, only twenty feet by ten, were twenty-six miserable objects, some of them sick upon the dirt floor." The hospitals of this city are represented as little better than its prisons, excepting the Great Hospital, in which 800 patients were attended by the Sisters of Mercy, with their usual care and kindness.

At Breslau, which was next visited, our humane traveller observed but little to detain him ; and he passed on to Berlin. In the prisons of this city he

found many judicious regulations, properly enforced by the constant superintendence of the civic judges. Amongst the rules, one required the gaoler to keep a record of those in custody, that, if any should again offend, the sentence might be apportioned to the character of the criminal. The orphan-house of Berlin was equally well governed, and its house of correction was clean and healthful; but here the infamous punishment of the Spanish Mantle was resorted to, two prisoners being exposed to public scorn at the gateway. Smugglers, especially, were subjected to this infliction. On his way to Hanover we have another proof of Howard's determined resistance to oppression, and of his indomitable spirit whenever convinced that he was doing right. It is thus recorded by Dr. Aikin:—

“ Travelling in the King of Prussia's dominions he came to a very narrow piece of road, admitting only one carriage, where it was enjoined on all postilions entering at each end to blow their horns by way of notice. His did so, but, after travelling a good way, they met a courier travelling on the king's business, who had neglected this precaution. The courier ordered Mr. Howard's postilion to turn back; but Mr. Howard remonstrated that he had complied with the rule, while the other had violated it, and therefore that he should insist on going forwards. The courier, relying on an authority to which, in that country, everything must give way, made use of high words, but in vain. As neither was disposed to yield, they sat still a long time in their respective carriages; at length the courier gave up the point to the sturdy Englishman, who would on no account *renounce his rights*.”*

* Aikin, p. 219.

CHAPTER XII.

HOWARD PROCEEDS TO BRUNSWICK AND HANOVER. — TORTURE AT OSNABURGH. — REVISITS PRISONS OF HOLLAND. — AGAIN INSPECTS FLEMISH PRISONS. — HOSPITAL AT BRUGES. — RETURNS TO ENGLAND. — RE-EXAMINES PRISONS OF ENGLAND. — GOES TO SCOTLAND. — REVISITS IRELAND. — PRISONERS OF WAR AT SHREWSBURY. — ANECDOTES OF COURAGE AND BENEVOLENCE. — TRAVELS AGAIN INTO SCOTLAND, IRELAND, AND WALES. — A BOLD REBUKE. — ANOTHER ENGLISH TOUR. — EMBARKS FOR SPAIN. — PUBLIC ESTABLISHMENTS AT LISBON. — PROCEEDS TO BADAJOZ AND TOLEDO. — THENCE TO MADRID : VISITS PRISONS AND HOSPITALS. — PRISONS OF THE INQUISITION AT MADRID AND VALLADOLID. — PENAL REGULATIONS AT BURGOS AND PAMPLONA. — LETTER TO A FRIEND. — DUNGEONS AT BORDEAUX. — REVISITS PARIS. — IMPROVEMENTS IN ITS PRISONS. — PROCEEDS TO LISLE. — DANGEROUS SICKNESS. — GOES TO AMSTERDAM. — ORPHAN HOUSE AT ROTTERDAM. — AGAIN INSPECTS FLEMISH PRISONS. — RETURNS TO ENGLAND. — ANOTHER IRISH TOUR. — ANECDOTES OF BENIGNITY.

If patriotism rather than pride induced Howard's conduct as described in the close of the last chapter, and the honour of his country would not permit the subject of a British sovereign to succumb to the courier of a foreign king, that loyalty and love of his native land rendered his sorrow and shame more intense when, having entered the Electorate connected with England, as forming part of the dominions of the same prince, he discerned in the prisons and penal inflictions of the two countries a painful resemblance. If our own gaols were filthy

and offensive, those at Brunswick and Hanover were like them, and frankincense was thought needful to prevent infection. If justice was violated in England by the lengthened detention of culprits before conviction, there too he found some who had been twelve months awaiting their trials. The Sabbath-day was commonly desecrated in English gaols ; so in Hanover it was disregarded, and the convicts were seen at work. But this similarity of mismanagement and vice was not all that Howard witnessed with grief. At Osnaburgh the torture had lately been inflicted with a refinement of cruelty surpassing that of other places. We have the following description of the manner in which a prisoner had twice suffered it :—

“The executioner had already torn off the hairs from his victim’s head, breast, &c. when a confession was wrung from him by the excruciating pain he endured, and an end was then put to his sufferings by his execution. The time for performing these deeds of darkness here, as in other countries in which they were still permitted to disgrace humanity, was two o’clock in the morning,—the scene, the gloomy cellar of the prison in which the horrid engines of this fiend-like cruelty were kept. On such occasions, a councillor of justice and a secretary attended, with a doctor and surgeon, an Osnaburgh executioner, and sometimes the gaoler. If the criminal fainted, strong salts were here applied to him, instead of the vinegar used in other places.”*

But though cruelty and crime thus prevailed in the prisons of the state, yet private benevolence had

* Brown, p. 374.

been called forth, and an establishment had been formed whose wise regulations seemed a protest against the vicious practices of those surrounding it. A house of correction had been founded by Burgo-master Aleman, who was still its director, and "to whose memory," says Howard, "it is the best monument that can ever be erected." This institution for children and petty offenders was admirably conducted, both with respect to the penal discipline and moral training.*

On his return homewards our benevolent countryman desired to obtain still further acquaintance with the prisons of Holland, and he therefore visited Utrecht. In the Stadt-house he saw nine women who had been publicly whipped, and they were then separated from the other prisoners; he observed a similar arrangement at Spandau; and at Zwolle, which was next visited, the same number had been branded. The punishments were inhuman; but, having been guilty of so degrading fellow-creatures, it was prudent in the authorities thus to hinder the spread of that depravity for which they themselves were chiefly responsible. He proceeded next to Dort, Breda, and Groningen, in the prisons of which places but few were confined. On an eminence near the last town the horrible spectacle of a gibbet was presented; the criminal had been hanged a year before, and a pit was dug beneath for the reception of the bones as they fell.

* Appendix to State of Prisons, p. 23.

Leeuwarden was then visited, and thence Howard went to Amsterdam, induced by a desire to inspect the abodes in which prisoners of war were confined. At Rotterdam he found some English sailors in the Admiralty prison, which was close and offensive, so that many had died. At Leyden the crew of the "Barker" East Indiaman, which had lately been wrecked, were confined in the pest-house.

The large prisons of Flanders again attracted our humane traveller. He first reinspected those of Antwerp, and then the orphan-house and hospital in that city. Thence proceeding to Brussels, he found the former inmates of the old house of correction had been removed to Vilvorde, where they were confined in the New Prison, in an unsatisfactory state; it was badly ventilated, very dirty, and too far from the capital to be under the constant supervision of authorities. Before leaving that city he visited the Hospital de St. Jean, which is noted down as "offensive beyond description." At Alost some prisoners were confined in darkness, others in a cage and loaded with fetters. "Their countenances bespoke inhumanity and misery." Thence proceeding to Ghent, he reinspected the Maison de Force: 312 prisoners were now within its walls, employed at various trades, and the whole was well regulated. At Bruges he again visited the prison, but gave especial attention to the hospital, which was under the care of twenty nuns, who rose every morning at four o'clock, and were most sedulous in their attention to the sufferers. Surprised and

pleased at the interest taken by Howard in their establishment, and his evident sympathy with the afflicted inmates, they inquired if he was a Catholic, to which he at once replied "I love good people of all religions." The answer was not so satisfactory as the affection he had excited caused them to desire, and they added — "We hope you will die a Catholic." Howard's language of love on this occasion, and his whole life, combined with a Protestant creed, sufficiently establish his claim to the title, though not quite in the sense intended by these charitable Sisters.

He now returned to England viâ Ostend, having travelled 4465 miles, without allowing himself to be diverted from his philanthropic purposes. It was the Christmas vacation, and on landing he at once hastened to his beloved child, who spent some weeks with him in London and at Cardington. Whilst in the metropolis Howard visited the prisons that had been recently erected on the site of those burnt during the riots of 1780. Neither the King's Bench nor the Fleet was reconstructed at all to his satisfaction. The Borough Compter had not yet been rebuilt, and the keeper had hired an adjoining house, in one room of which twenty-three prisoners were crammed, although it was not sixteen feet square.

The mind of the anxious parent was now especially directed to the proper completion of his son's education. He felt continually how defective his own had been, and he resolved that no pains or expense

should be spared to render that of his heir adequate to all the requirements of his station. The assertion that he intended him for a Dissenting Minister had no foundation in truth, as must be evident from the fact that at this time every preparation was made for his going to Eton. All was arranged with the master with whom he was to reside ; but on personal inquiry as to the religious instruction and careful superintendence of his pupils, there was much reason for any Christian parent to be dissatisfied, and young Howard, instead of becoming an Eton boy, was placed under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Walker of Nottingham, a scholar, says Dr. Aikin, "whose great abilities were only equalled by the amiableness of his manners." *

Having placed his son with his new tutor, Howard began his third general inspection of English prisons, Jan. 21. 1782. He proceeded to Chesterfield and Sheffield. Thence to Hull, where he visited some Dutch prisoners of war ; others he found at Lincoln : these expressed their gratitude for the kind treatment they experienced, especially on account of a collection recently made for them by the chancellor of the cathedral there. He next revisited the prisons at Swaffham and Ely, where his charity was extended to some debtors, detained on account of fees exacted to an amount which far exceeded the demands of their creditors. Having accomplished this short tour of inspection northward, on the 7th of Feb. he directed his steps

* Gent. Mag., April 1790.

westward. At Winchester he found improvements had been made, but on inquiring for the surgeon, whose attention he had before commended, he learned that he had fallen a victim to the gaol fever, as had been the case with the former keeper. At Bristol, Devizes, and Marlborough, gross abuses were again discovered.

On the 25th of March Howard set out for Scotland, revisiting the bridewell at Newcastle on his way. At Edinburgh he tells us the prisoners of war were well treated; but it was otherwise with the *poor* prisoners in the Tolbooth, who were closely confined in a horrid cage, the condemned being chained to an iron bar. Their merciful visitor adds:

“I say the *poor*, because such as have money have too much liberty. For in the same prison I lately saw some, who were confined for a riot, drinking whiskey in the tap-room, in company with many profligate townsmen, who were readily admitted, as they promoted the sale of the gaoler’s liquors.”*

With the Royal Infirmary and the Orphan-house Howard expressed himself highly pleased. Whilst at Edinburgh, the citizens did honour to themselves and to him by presenting him with the freedom of the city. Few particulars are given of this tour. The prisons at Dumfries and Aberdeen, having been burnt, had been rebuilt.

Soon after his return in April, Howard spent a short time in London, and reinspected several prisons, but the account of them contains little of

* Appendix to State of Prisons, p. 237.

importance. On the 24th of the same month he commenced revisiting the prisons of the north-western and midland counties. Worcester Gaol was first inspected: then Warwick, which he thought more showy than suited to its purpose; the arrangements, especially those for debtors, being objectionable. He discovered too, that, although there was a regularly appointed chaplain, no divine service had been performed. At Coventry he found a poor creature who, though he had received the *King's free pardon*, had since been detained eight months languishing on an allowance of one pound of bread a-day, because unable to pay the fees demanded by relentless officials whenever the royal clemency was thus extended. At Leicester his suggestions had been followed, and, the prison having been made more secure, the chain and log were no longer needful. The prisons of Huntingdon, Newport, and St. Albans, were then visited, and a short interval of rest was again spent at Cardington.

Howard, wearied rather by rest from well-doing, than by the energy with which he pursued his holy vocation, at the end of a fortnight started for Ireland, examining again on his way the prisons of Chester and Beaumaris. On his arrival in Dublin, a parliamentary committee, which had been formed to inquire into the state of gaols, at once availed itself of his benevolent investigations. He gave evidence respecting the New Newgate, particularly that it was in every respect the reverse of a well-regulated gaol—he saw two or three of its inmates

dying on its stone floors—there had been no service in the chapel for two years—the prisoners' morals were totally neglected—the men and women were together—it was crowded; dirty beyond description; and he was persuaded that, unless soon improved, the fever would break out in this scene of wretchedness. Two of the committee afterwards accompanied him to this prison, and their inspection confirmed his report. At Tuam, whither he next went, the Irish keeper, more regarding his pigs than his prisoners, had turned the building designed for a bath into a sty. During this tour, though chiefly undertaken for the inspection of prisons, he visited the Protestant Charter Schools, concerning which he discovered that many inaccurate reports had been issued, and that so many gross practices were prevalent in them that they were “calculated to disgrace Protestantism and encourage Popery in Ireland.” He thought their condition so bad that a parliamentary inquiry was demanded: but a more particular account of them was made public after another inspection, to which we must hereafter advert.

The University of Dublin highly appreciated Howard's benevolence, and conferred on him an honorary degree of D.C.L.; a distinction which was duly estimated by him, and on which he said he “should always reflect with pleasure.”*

Howard returned through North Wales, and visited the new gaol of Ruthin, which was gene-

* Appendix to State of Prisons, p. 157.

rally well contrived and regulated. Thence proceeding to Shrewsbury, he found a prisoner who had been for five years under sentence of transportation, and no order for removal had been received. A large building, erected on the banks of the Severn, in 1765, for the reception of children from the Foundling Hospital in London, contained at this time 338 Dutch prisoners of war. Most of them were barefooted, having received no clothing from the States, as the French and Spanish prisoners had from their respective governments. British benevolence had therefore been excited on their behalf, and contributions had been raised to supply them with requisite apparel. Clothes were purchased, but the commissary had forbidden their distribution, with the base design of forcing them to enter our navy, having an officer in attendance to receive all who would consent. This was an occasion for the magnanimity of our Christian Philanthropist. Howard first made a donation of ten guineas to the fund, desiring that application should be made to him, should a further subscription be necessary. He learned that access to the prisoners was refused. Having an order from the Transport Board for free admission into the prison, he desired that the articles which had been purchased might be brought there, and, the commissary not daring to resist him, he had the prisoners assembled and distributed the clothing amongst them. He then told them that, if any of them should so far forget their duty to their country as to serve

against her, though in the pay of England, he would take care that their names should be transmitted to Holland, where, if ever they were taken, they would most certainly be hanged. Then charging the subordinate officers to take care that the articles were properly applied, he took leave, after giving them a small gratuity.* This greatness of soul which distinguished Howard, and prompted the resistance to oppression in every form, was remarkably combined with a minute attention to the means of relief or gratification of those around him. If heroes might admire that bold independence of spirit which our last anecdote displays, angels were not less pleased when they witnessed the simple act of more private benevolence related in the following paragraph.

Amongst the captives in this temporary prison there was a common sailor, conspicuous for his attention to his fellow-prisoners who were sick. He sat up with them, he administered their medicines, he prepared their food, and, which accounts for his sympathy and self-denial, he "prayed by them." Howard heard of him, and, attracted by the kindred spirit of a Christian, he inquired what he could do that might best conduce to his comfort. He found the man contented in his captivity, and, whilst cheerfully devoting himself to the relief of many sufferers, he sought no earthly recompense; he would ask nothing for himself. At last his visitor discovered that, when weary and watching, a cup of tea was especially grateful to him. About a

* Brown, p. 389.

week after, this Dutch sailor received a loaf of sugar, a pound of tea, a kettle, with all other apparatus required for the favourite repast.

From Shrewsbury, Howard proceeded to Birmingham; and, after examining the debtors' prison of that town, the regulations of which he condemned as amongst the very worst, he pursued his journey to London, visiting the bridewell at Wycombe on his way. This was still part of a public-house. After a week spent in London, the active traveller passed on to Norfolk. At Thetford, he was glad to hear that the gaoler had just before been fined 20*l.* by Lord Loughborough for putting irons on a woman. The prisons of Norwich, Yarmouth, and Lavenham were next visited. From the ruinous bridewell of the last place two more criminals had escaped; and the magistrates, instead of repairing the prison, had sent *the keeper some thumb-screws to secure the rest!** At Halstead, the county bridewell had been destroyed by fire in March, 1781, when four of its inmates perished in the flames. As he approached his home at Cardington, the gaol of his own county was revisited, and, at this completion of his tour, he rejoiced to find that the life and health of the prisoners so near him were now greatly preserved by an allowance of fuel to both debtors and felons.

A few days were passed in the privacy of his home; and again we find that on the 27th of July Howard reinspected the prisons of Exeter, in one

* Appendix to State of Prisons, p. 207.

of which he found a woman who had been there more than forty years. At Plymouth the town gaol was in a wretched condition, but a new and commodious one for prisoners of war had been erected. The new prison at Bodmin was again inspected with increased pleasure; but those of Somerset and Dorset, which were next visited, were still in a miserable state.

About a fortnight was now spent at Bristol Hot-Wells, when our benevolent countryman proceeded to Scotland and re-examined the gaols of that country, but without recording many interesting circumstances. On his return the gaols in Carlisle and several in Lancashire were again visited. On this occasion he found with much satisfaction that both at Preston and Manchester an increase of salary had been granted to the keepers, and that the sale of beer and spirits was prohibited. From Liverpool he sailed for Ireland, and reinspected many prisons. He learned with pleasure that two bills for the better regulation of gaols had recently passed the Irish Parliament. One of these enactments forbade the detention of prisoners for fees, and the committee before mentioned was still pursuing its inquiries into the condition of prisons. Howard returned through North Wales, continuing his researches amidst the abodes of misery; but, as the dates of his notes leave an interval of a month, it has been supposed that illness interrupted those labours. Pursuing his course through South Wales, on the 18th of October he records the pleasure

with which he went through the new gaol at Brecon, though he regretted that, notwithstanding the forewarnings he had given, it was not out of the reach of floods. Indeed, at this period the architects of prisons seem to have been infatuated, and many new buildings were almost as defective as those which they replaced. Thus the cells in the next gaol Howard visited, at Haverfordwest, were four feet under ground, and very damp; a third, at Pembroke, was close and offensive; whilst another, lately constructed at Cardiff, had not the necessary provision of water. In his way home the prisons in the counties of Monmouth, Gloucester, and Oxford were revisited.

Three days were now spent at Cardington; and Howard resumed his labours, directing his steps first into Hampshire. At Forton he again visited the prisoners of war. He found the bread very much under the proper weight. As he always carried his own steel-yards, such fraudulent cruelty was often detected. When at Portsmouth, hearing that one of the hospital-ships was grossly neglected by the surgeon, he forthwith went on board. Finding the report true, he sent for the defaulter, who, being convicted, pleaded in extenuation the danger of the contagious diseases then prevailing. Howard — ever fearless and faithful — was indignant at such dastardly conduct, the guilt of which was aggravated by the shameless defence, and he thus addressed him, — “Then, Sir, you should not take wages for that which you are afraid to do; and let

me assure you that, when I get to London, I will report your conduct to the Admiralty, and have you dismissed from a station whose duties you do not perform."* Howard seldom spoke unadvisedly, and his threats were not vain words. On his return to London, the surgeon was dismissed the service.

The gaol at Horsham was greatly admired by its visitor. Its provision for the separate confinement of offenders was, as we shall presently see more fully, quite according to his desire. All fees had been abolished by the authorities of this county, which was foremost in the effectual reformation of prisons. Passing from this to the bridewell at Kingston, he tells us that he was painfully struck with the contrast of mismanagement and promiscuous intercourse.

Another interval of four days in Bedfordshire, and a longer journey was undertaken. Recollecting the misery which he had witnessed in Yorkshire prisons, he determined to revisit them. Further improvement had been effected at Knaresborough. In the gaol at Bradford, which was now four rooms of the keeper's public-house, a poor debtor was confined for 4s., to the distress of a wife and five children. It need not be told that he was released. At Nantwich a new gaol had been constructed, with two dungeons; and in the old one at Wolverhampton the prisoners were almost suffocated.

Towards the end of November Howard entered upon another tour in Kent and Sussex, and thence

* Dr. Brown's MS, quoted by Brown, p. 397.

to London, when he again inspected the metropolitan prisons. During the following month we find him pursuing his labours of compassion in Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, and Berkshire, and again in London, closing his exertions for the year by re-inspecting the Fleet. A careful calculation shows that the indefatigable Philanthropist travelled, in this one year, more than 8000 miles.

Charity had now conducted her chosen servant through all the countries of Europe excepting Spain and Portugal. To the latter he had long since steered his course, but it was not to labour or to dispense relief in the sphere which had been determined; his progress therefore was arrested, and by the discipline of experience he learned to sympathise with the special objects he had been selected to relieve.* Now his purpose is in accordance with that appointed, and shall therefore be accomplished. He goes as the almoner of charity to the prisoner and the captive, the messenger of mercy to the outcast. His commission is recognised, and he is prosperous.

Howard sailed from Falmouth Jan. 31. 1783, and, after a favourable voyage, landed at Lisbon, where, in commencing his inspection of the Portuguese prisons, he was glad to find that imprisonment for debt had been recently prohibited. A charitable society existed for promoting the release of prisoners who might be otherwise detained for fees. Thus early was an opportunity presented for the exercise of his own charity, such as he never

* See p. 18.

neglected. In the *Limoiero* were 774 criminals, who were humanely treated. Here too was a manufactory, in which about a thousand vagrant and deserted children were employed. In this prison and at the Castle were many secret chambers, in which prisoners were most closely confined. The ecclesiastical prison contained six priests and three women, committed "*pro salute animarum.*" Howard was not allowed to enter the prison of the Inquisition, which is described as containing nineteen vaulted rooms, separated by walls six feet thick, and some of them called *secrete, totally dark*. In the Arsenal were a number of the slaves, some of whom had for years been chained to one spot. Few particulars are recorded of other prisons in Portugal, the inmates of which obtained support by begging at *grated* doors. The hospitals are reported to have been spacious, but close and offensive.

On the 9th of March our humane traveller arrived at Badajoz. He found that prisoners in Spain were commonly supported by alms, which proved sufficient. The prisons were clean, many of them having fountains in the court-yards. The torture was often inflicted upon accused persons, but, with a strange inconsistency, any confession so extorted was read over to the criminal twenty-four hours after, that he might either confirm or retract it. At Toledo he visited two large prisons, in which were some hundreds of criminals, loaded with irons, unhealthy, and several miserable objects dying in their beds. The hospitals are described as airy and

convenient. Proceeding thence to Madrid, he found in the largest prison, the Carcel de Corte, rooms with stone bedsteads, and iron hooks for chaining the prisoners, some of whom were cruelly fettered; but the keeper was entrusted with much discretionary power, and, happily for his charge, he was compassionate in its exercise. In the prison of the city the dungeons were offensive and dirty. The walls of one of its torture-chambers were stained with blood, whereupon the Philanthropist remarks, "I was sorry to see such traces of this practice amongst a people otherwise generous and humane." On visiting another prison he found two of the privy council inquiring into the cases of criminals, and in many instances reversing or altering the sentences imposed by inferior judges: a practice much to be deprecated, as rendering punishment uncertain, which has always a tendency to induce crime, and, when it has been committed, to prevent correction. The prisons for petty offenders here and at San Fernando were under judicious regulations. Many young offenders were under instruction in school, and the adults suitably employed. The hospitals of Madrid were on a magnificent scale. The *Real* contained 900 patients, but the object of the institution was in a measure frustrated by the noise of numerous visitors, and their inspector observed that the rooms for the convalescent were so close as to retard their recovery. Two churches in this city were desecrated as asylums for debtors and criminals, and although their sanctuary was limited

to a pavement of the edifice about three feet wide, yet some refugees had been there for years. Howard was indebted to the Count Compomanes for facility of access to the public institutions of Spain, but his influence could not secure admission for him into that habitation of cruelty which, beyond all others, he desired to penetrate and explore. The Inquisition was then barred against secular authority. Always courageous, he resolved if possible to obtain an entrance, and therefore procured an introduction to the Grand Inquisitor, who received him at seven in the morning when at prayers. He afterwards led him to his dreadful judgment-seat, which was hung with scarlet, and over which was a crucifix: a table, at which were two chairs for the secretaries, and a stool, upon which many a victim had sat and trembled, constituted the furniture of this dismal place. But further than this ante-room of horrors Howard must not advance; he was already beyond the limits of philanthropy, and charity was excluded from the gloomy portals to which this chamber led.

Valladolid was next visited, where he endeavoured to gain further access to the prison of the Inquisition there established, and the recommendations he had obtained secured him a somewhat more favourable reception. He was conducted into several rooms by two inquisitors, their secretaries, and two magistrates. In one there was a picture of an *auto da fé* in 1667, when ninety-seven persons were burned in presence of the Spanish court. The event

might well be described by one of the inquisitors as "*horrendum ac tremendum spectaculum*." In other respects the scene of this dreadful tribunal resembled that at Madrid. Three doors led into the secretary's room, and an inscription denounced the greater excommunication upon any who should venture to intrude. The insignia of office were in two other rooms; and in one adjoining, the prohibited books, amongst them those of many English authors. Others contained the vestments in which the victims of this tribunal were occasionally clad. The sight of these things increased his desire to penetrate the more secret recesses. As an extraordinary privilege, he was allowed to ascend a private staircase; but on begging permission to look into the cells beyond, it was positively refused. None but prisoners, he was told, passed that threshold. "I would willingly become one for a month," said the earnest Philanthropist, "if the permission might be granted on that condition." Three years, he was informed, was the shortest space for which any were consigned to the worse than sepulchral gloom of those woeful chambers. Moreover, he was assured that their wretched occupants were beyond the reach of compassion. Piteous moans were uttered within those walls, but no appeal disturbed the death-like stillness around their doors.

But if the victims of intolerance had most claim on Howard's sympathy, they were not the sole objects of his concern in this city. The prison for

criminals and persons accused was visited; and there, too, were horrid dungeons, in one of which a wretched creature was lying on his back, chained down to a large stone: another had recently been put to the torture to force confession. At Burgos, which was next visited, a more humane treatment was adopted. At Pamplona the prison was dirty, and many had lately died. It was badly managed, although a magistrate told Howard that he visited it every week to hear complaints; upon which the shrewd inspector remarked, that such complaints were not to be expected if the gaoler went with him. A strange abuse of power is mentioned. The viceroy, twice a year, released what prisoners he chose, and fourteen had been just liberated; on a former occasion he had discharged all the prisoners, without assigning a reason. After inspecting the Citadel and the Misericordia, in which children and petty offenders were confined in a manner which called forth his censure, he closed his investigation in Spain. The following letter was written from Pamplona, April 17. 1783:—

“ Dear Sir,—I am still in Spain. The manner of travelling by mules is very slow; I was fourteen days in coming from Lisbon to Madrid, a distance of only four hundred miles. In this country you must carry all your provisions. The luxury of milk for my tea I can very seldom get; but I one morning robbed a kid of two cups of its mother’s milk. I bless God I am well and enjoy calm spirits. . . I have been in this city three days, and must stop a few days longer before I cross the mountains. The Spaniards are very sober and honest; and if a traveller can live sparingly,

and lie on the floor, he may pass tolerably well through this country. I have come into many an inn and paid only five pence for the noise (as I may term it) I made in the house. No bread, eggs, milk, or wine do they sell. Peace has not been declared; many will hardly believe it. The Spaniards speak of General Elliott with a spirit of enthusiasm. Never were two nations so often at war who had such esteem and complacency one towards another. I travelled for some time with an English gentleman, but, finding my stoppages to visit the prisons inconvenient to him, he went forward with his Spanish servant. I go through Bayonne, where I shall only stop one day. I shall proceed to Bordeaux, where I shall find many horrid dungeons. I hope to be in Ireland in July. In England I have little more to do before I go again to press, after which I hope to be in comfort at my own fireside. With much esteem, I remain your friend and servant." *

On his arrival at Bordeaux, about ten days after the above date, his fears were realised. In the prison under the town-house were three dungeons, 27 feet under ground, in which fifteen prisoners were confined in irons. Four steps lower still were ten men and a woman as closely confined. In the prison for the province, and the house of correction, the arrangements were better. In the latter were twenty-four women at needle-work, who, on the entrance of their visitor, put on veils. Thence Howard proceeded to Paris, where he rejoiced to find that some of the worst prisons were no longer used, and several humane regulations had been appointed for the rest, by which they were rendered more airy; some classification

* To the Rev. Mr. Smith.

was effected, and confinement in dungeons before trial was forbidden. Their compassionate inspector wished the prohibition had extended to all classes, but in the Conciergerie he found sixteen miserable objects in its dark and offensive holes. The tap-room, however, had been abolished. In the Grand Châtelet sixteen other prisoners were in a like condition. A sight yet more revolting to humanity was disclosed when he explored the military prison of L'Abbaye, in which fifty prisoners were occasionally immured in six very small dungeons. A new prison, L'Hôtel de la Force, had been constructed, which presented a happy contrast to these miserable dens. In this, order, cleanliness, and proper discipline were carefully enforced. Several smaller prisons were visited during this more protracted stay in Paris. The Bicêtre was reinspected, and some improvements therein observed. In the great hospital, the Salpêtrière, there were more than 500 inmates, composed of destitute persons, some insane, and several orphans, besides about 800 young female offenders, who were committed to this abode at the desire of their relatives, and were under the superintendence of a religious sisterhood.

Having visited all the penal and charitable institutions to which he could obtain access during a stay of ten days in Paris, Howard next proceeded to Lisle. Here he learned that numbers of soldiers in the citadel, sick and in prison, were in a most deplorable condition. Out of 340 he found 80 suf-

fering from scurvy, some of whom, though dying, were in irons. Idleness and dirt were prevalent in this prison, and to those evils the benevolent visitor ascribed the sickness and mortality. The arrangements in the general hospital and work-house were commended; the girls were employed in making lace, and the boys received instruction in various trades and occupations. Amongst the lesser abodes of misery which Howard visited was the Tour de St. Pierre, where he discovered four poor objects confined in an offensive room, with only one bed, and grievously neglected. Such suffering induced him again and again to retrace his steps thither, that he might, if possible, administer relief. The disease was infectious; he caught it, and his life was endangered; but he was mercifully restored, when he recorded his pious gratitude in the following terms: —

“I have abundant reason for thankfulness to Divine Providence for recovering me from a fever. . . . I gratefully record and remember the mercy and goodness of God. For many days I have been in pain and sorrow; the sentence of death was, as it were, upon me; but I cried unto the Lord, and He delivered me, blessed for ever be His name! O God! do my soul good by this affliction; make me more sensible of my entire dependence upon Thee; more serious, more humble, more watchful, more abstracted from the world, better prepared to leave it! May I live a life of faith in the great Redeemer, whom, having not seen, yet I hope I love, and desire to serve to the end of my days.”*

Howard's recovery was rapid; and as though the

* Brown, p. 417.

time of interruption in his philanthropic work, however profitably spent, must if possible be redeemed, we find him at the end of a fortnight diligently occupied in revisiting the prisons of Amsterdam. Few remarks are made upon them ; but the orphan-house, in which were 1300 children, was in a wretched condition : both the house and its occupants were in a filthy state. And when he inspected the similar institution at Rotterdam, he found that no better. Many of the children were diseased in consequence. He expostulated with the directors, when they, with little concern, replied, — “ It is the house-disorder ; all our children must have a seasoning.” This aroused his indignation, and called forth a faithful and merited reproof.

The prisons at Utrecht were next revisited, and thence Howard passed on to Antwerp, in which city he found only one prisoner. Proceeding to Brussels he was grieved to learn, that in the Port de Halle the torture had been inflicted on a culprit for forty-eight hours. Ghent was next visited, where he learned that a sad change had taken place in the prison which he had before commended. On his application for permission to inspect the Maison de Force, the burgomaster told him that the Emperor had prohibited access to visitors. “ But you, Sir,” he added, “ are an exception to all rules :” he was therefore allowed to reinspect it. The manufactory had been given up because some of his subjects had complained to the Emperor of the injury to trade caused thereby. With this deprivation of manual

labour, a reduction in the diet had been ordered, and the idea that the prisoners were too comfortably lodged had called forth a direction, at once foolish and cruel, that less care should be taken about the cleanliness of the prison; the result of which was, that an entire quarter of the building had ere long to be fitted up as an infirmary. To complete these mischievous regulations, it was further decreed that annually a number of prisoners who behaved well should, on that account, be liberated: a certain provision for the release of some of the worst characters, who, as respects the conformity to prison-rules, are generally found to be the most cautious. The appointment of a test so fallacious has always tended to frustrate endeavours to improve the criminals, as well as to defeat the ends of justice. A mere submission to command for a selfish object begets no virtuous principle; the motive of action remains unchanged, whilst hypocrisy is generated, — and when the conduct is under the influence of that hateful vice no permanent reformation can take place. Howard did not again visit this prison, although it was one in which he felt an especial interest. It would be gratifying to be enabled to state that the faults in its administration, which were observed with so much pain, had been corrected; but a plan has been since pursued which forbids any satisfactory statement. The Inspector-general of the Belgian prisons observed, at the late Congrès Pénitentiare, —

“ During the last sixteen years the towns of Ghent and Vilvorde have done all that was possible for the improve-

ment of prisons, with regard to security, cleanliness, order, diet, clothing, and labour, founding all upon the Auburn system. They have done all that they ought or could have done. So far the criminal establishments of Belgium may be justly compared with those of other countries. Nevertheless it must be admitted that *this experiment, which has been pursued with zeal and perseverance for sixteen years, has completely failed, if we are to judge of its results by the improvement of criminals, the decrease of crime, or by recommitments.* In the year 1843, the directors of the *maisons centrales*, together with the minister of justice, were asked for the result of their experience on this subject. All agreed in saying, that much as they had increased the severity, the inspection, and the discipline of these prisons, they had not, however, observed any improvement amongst the prisoners with regard to morals, and that the number of recommitments, far from diminishing, continued to increase; that this proceeded chiefly from the fact of the intercourse and association of the prisoners, — an intercourse which could produce none but bad results, and essentially impede the moral reformation of the prisoners.”

Another cause must be assigned for the entire failure. It was reasonable that Howard should commend the plan formerly pursued, and recently again adopted, of encouraging industry by allowing a portion of the wages. The prisons in which the system was pursued were in almost every respect superior to others. It was pleasing and promising to see hands, accustomed to steal, there active at the loom, the anvil, or the last. The sight was contrasted with the idleness, wretchedness, and vice which English prisons presented. “Make them diligent and they will be honest,” was the maxim. It was plausible, and sanguine hope suggested com-

mendation. Disappointment on the other hand compels us to condemn. A pleasing expectation was his warrant ; painful experience ours. Moreover, his approval was founded rather upon favourable appearance than upon the inferences of reason or the result of investigation. Due consideration would have shown that the endeavour to produce industry by the mitigation of punishment, or some mere indulgence, as the motive, was but promoting the same principle of selfishness which had probably led to the offence committed. Time was thus wasted in the employment of the hand, and in mechanical operations, which should have been devoted to the improvement of the mind and correction of the heart. And the consequence has been, that at Ghent, at Perth, and in every prison where the like plan has been pursued, it has more decidedly failed than any other system which has been tried.

Howard reinspected other prisons at Ghent ; in one of them, De Mamelocker, a poor creature had lately been twenty-four hours upon a stool of torture. After visiting the prisons of Alost and Ostend, he embarked from the latter port, and reached England on or about the 23d of June.

Howard so arranged his travelling as to reach home at the commencement of his son's vacation, and a month was now spent with him and amongst his friends at Cardington. When that short season of recreation had passed, young Howard, who, having attained his eighteenth year, was now re-

moved from school, accompanied his father on a tour through Ireland, a promise having been given to reinspect the gaols of that country before the parliament should again meet. This humane project he began to fulfil immediately on his arrival in Dublin, by revisiting the Newgate, in which he found former evils increased, and many fresh ones introduced. Frightful contamination still prevailed; fees were extorted; intoxication was encouraged; disease was generated by its dirty condition; and a physician had recently fallen a victim to the gaol fever. The floors were of stone, yet not even straw was allowed to lie upon; the food was deficient, and no provision for mental instruction or spiritual improvement was made: divine service was never performed within those walls. The prisoners themselves were turnkeys; but a military guard prevented their escape. Yet, with all these gross defects, sufficient officers were appointed. Howard, in a strain of remonstrance not less spirited than it was just and proper, observes —

“Such appointments can be of little consequence while the sheriffs and magistrates neglect their duties, and seldom or never visit the gaols or punish defaulters. Are not such magistrates inexcusably guilty? Should they not be considered as accessory to the crimes and abuses and miseries occasioned by their neglect?”

Howard seldom uttered complaints without setting an example worthy of imitation. His expositions in this case, and subsequently on this tour, were attended by acts of great benevolence. He

procured from the keeper a list of sixteen prisoners detained for fees, and of fifteen more confined in the dungeons of Kilmainham on the same account, and, having made careful inquiries respecting them and their families, he entered into a contract with their gaolers for the payment of half their claims, on condition that they should release the most deserving and distressed.

But if, through the culpable negligence of authorities, such enormities were perpetrated and permitted in the Irish prisons, a proper superintendence and constant inspection were equally productive of good in another institution. The House of Industry contained 1440 persons: it was visited daily by one or more of its governors: it was orderly, clean, and in all respects well conducted.

Howard was pleased to find on this visit that Earl Temple, who had been lately appointed Lord-Lieutenant, had given attention to the state of prisons, and had called for a report of all gaols from the sheriffs, at the same time ordering the distribution of the Acts passed for their better regulation.

About the middle of August the Philanthropist and his son crossed to Holyhead by one of the regular packets; and the following letter, addressed by a fellow-passenger to the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine*, describes some characteristic incidents which occurred on that voyage:—

* Dec. 1790.

“It is a trite observation that trifles betray character, and that the actions of a man when among strangers whom he is not likely ever again to meet, and among whom his name is unknown, are the best proofs of his natural disposition. Such are the circumstances I am about to relate, and such the situation in which they happened.

“In the summer of 1783 Mr. Howard was returning from a tour through the Irish prisons, and I sailed with him from Dublin to Holyhead. His son was with him, and, while we were on the deck of the packet, spoke with great roughness to a child that was playing with his coat, and drove it from him: this appearance of inhumanity his father instantly took notice of, and reprimanded him for not behaving with greater tenderness. But at night Mr. Howard had an opportunity of showing his disposition more plainly. On coming to take possession of his berth, he found that a maid-servant belonging to some of the passengers was not provided with a bed, and, immediately giving up to her his own, he spent the night upon the cabin-floor, choosing rather to inconvenience himself than to disturb that son on whose account he is now calumniated. In these little incidents we see a man alive to every feeling of humanity; uneasy at a word spoken with harshness to a child; submitting to an inconvenience to relieve from a trifling distress a stranger whose rank gave no claim to attention; and leaving his son in possession of an accommodation which his own age rendered almost necessary. These were not the effects of a mind heated by enthusiasm, but the effusions of a truly benevolent heart, to which that noble sentiment, *humani nihil a me alienum puto*, might deservedly be applied. I knew not Mr. Howard's name during these transactions, and learned it only by accident a short time before we landed.

(Signed) “OBSERVER.”

CHAPTER XIII.

REVISITS SOME ENGLISH GAOLS AND HULKS. — REPUBLISHES "STATE OF PRISONS." — BURKE'S EULOGIUM. — ANECDOTES OF CAUTION AND COURAGE. — MRS. FRY AT NEWGATE. — PRIVATE BENEVOLENCE. — SOME CURIOUS ADVENTURES. — PROFLIGACY OF YOUNG HOWARD. — EDUCATION IN EDINBURGH. — ENTERS AT CAMBRIDGE. — HOWARD RESOLVES TO VISIT LAZARETTOS. — EMBARKS FOR HOLLAND. — FORBIDDEN TO ENTER FRANCE. — PROCEEDS TO PARIS. — A NARROW ESCAPE. — TRAVELS AS A PHYSICIAN FROM LYONS TO AVIGNON. — ARRIVES AT MARSEILLES. — CHRISTIAN PRISONER AT TOULON. — EMBARKS FOR NICE. — GENOESE LAZARETTOS, HOSPITALS, AND PRISONS. — VISITS PISA, FLORENCE, AND ROME. — INTERVIEW WITH THE POPE. — SAILS TO MALTA : ITS HOSPITALS AND PRISONS. — LETTERS. — EMBARKS FOR ZANTE. — THENCE TO SMYRNA. — SUCCESSFUL MEDICAL PRACTICE. — FAITHFUL REMONSTRANCE. — CONSTANTINOPLE. — THE PLAGUE. — SPEEDY VENGEANCE IN TURKEY. — SEEKS TO UNDERGO QUARANTINE. — VISITS SALONICA AND SCIO ON RETURN TO SMYRNA. — EMBARKS FOR VENICE IN INFECTED VESSEL. — ATTACKED BY PRIVATEER. — REACHES VENICE, AND CONFINED IN LAZARETTO. — PROPOSED MONUMENT TO HOWARD. — DR. LETTSOM. — YOUNG HOWARD'S INSANITY. — LETTERS.

THE same benevolence which, as the close of our last chapter shows, provided for the comfort of a servant at such a personal sacrifice, forbade any desire for relaxation whilst fellow-men were suffering and sought relief. The weakly constitution of the Philanthropist sometimes called for a temporary recreation, and the claim was reluctantly allowed ; but at this time the journey of inspection,

though painful, had been short : he had still strength to persevere, and therefore did not allow himself to rest. The prisons of London were now revisited, but nothing very important is described as the result. An excursion was then made to Worcester and Gloucester : in the latter city a new gaol was nearly finished on a defective plan, but one was proposed for the county of a very superior construction. On his return to London, other prisons were re-examined, and the hulks were also again inspected. Amongst some amendments in the condition and discipline there was much still to be condemned. The mortality had diminished, and the sum of Howard's report is expressed in this sentence — "Their situation is better with respect to health ; but the association of so many criminals is utterly destructive of morals."

The indefatigable friend of the prisoner and the captive had now four times inspected almost every important prison in England, and he again went to Warrington to prepare another edition of his work, in which he embodied the results of his investigation both on the Continent and in the United Kingdom. A calculation is also found in his memorandum-book of this date, which describes the number of miles he had travelled in his missions of mercy as 42,033. But lest the record should at any time suggest vainglory, he carefully guards it with the following addition : —

"To God alone be all the praise ! I do not regret the

loss of many conveniences of life, but bless God who inclined my mind to such a scheme." *

And on another page the same pious sentiments are more fully expressed: —

"I am not at all angry with the reflections that some persons make, as they think, to my disparagement, because all they say of this kind gives God the greater honour, in whose Almighty hand no instrument is weak, in whose presence no flesh must glory, but the whole conduct of this matter must be ascribed to Providence alone, and God, *by me*, intimates to the world, however weak and unworthy *I am*, that he espouses the *cause*; and to Him, to Him alone, be all the praise!" †

This expression of humility and self-abasement, combined with the ascription of praise to the Giver of that charitable spirit which excited such exertion, might lead us to expect that, besides the future recompence, there would be some present fulfilment of the promise, "Them that honour me I will honour:" words pronounced by Him who, having power to control the disposition of men, and to prompt their language, does by such means, in a measure, show His faithfulness. Accordingly, if the ignoble and envious vainly speak in disparagement of Howard, men most distinguished proclaim his praises. Surely, in proof of this, we may cite the eulogium uttered about this time by a statesman whose glowing eloquence has but seldom been surpassed: —

"I cannot name this gentleman," says Burke, with re-

* Brown, p. 426.

† Ib. p. 579.

ference to Howard, "without remarking, that his labours and writings have done much to open the eyes and hearts of mankind. He has visited all Europe,—not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, or the stateliness of temples; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosities of modern art; not to collect medals or to collate manuscripts: but to dive into the depths of dungeons; to plunge into the infection of hospitals; to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; and to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression, and contempt; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to visit the forsaken, and compare and collate the distresses of all men in all countries. His plan is original, and it is as full of genius as it is of humanity. It was a voyage of discovery; a circumnavigation of charity. Already the benefit of his labour is felt more or less in every country: I hope he will anticipate his final reward, by seeing all its effects fully realised in his own. He will receive, not by retail, but in gross, the reward of those who visit the prisoner; and he has so forestalled and monopolised this branch of charity, that there will be, I trust, little room to merit by such acts of benevolence hereafter."*

The same humanity which induced the laborious investigation now inclined Howard to suppress the description of many horrors he had discovered. The wisdom and benevolence evinced by him in this respect convey a salutary lesson to other writers:—

"Mr. Howard told me," says his friend Dr. Brown, "that, if he had chosen, he might have filled a book with an infinite variety of tortures practised in Europe. But although the horrid narrative would have secured the rapid and extensive sale of the collection, he preferred to bury

* Speech at the Bristol Election, 1780.

in silence such shocking scenes, for fear of instructing some in certain modes of tormenting with which they were unacquainted, and leading ferocious natures to introduce them where they were unknown."

An interesting anecdote affords an illustration of the principle which influenced his conduct in this respect. Howard distributed the copies of his new edition with the same liberality as the former were dispersed. He presented one to the Duke of York, to whom he was introduced as Prince Bishop of Osnaburgh on his visit to that town, when he informed him of the excruciating torture which was inflicted in his principality. The young prince desired to know the particulars of the cruelty: Howard excused himself from the description, assuming that the feelings would be too much shocked by the recital; but begged him to give orders to his ministers for the needful inquiry. The pleasing result was a promise that the atrocious practice should be abolished. The Philanthropist now sent a copy of his work to His Royal Highness, carefully fixing the riband at the page on which he expressed his conviction that the torture would be discontinued.

Some very remarkable occurrences about this period proved the influence possessed by Howard over the minds of men the most depraved and ferocious. His friend Dr. Brown preserved the following anecdotes:—

"When Ryland, the celebrated engraver, was under sentence of death for forgery, a gentleman came one morn-

ing to Mr. Howard and informed him that some years ago a maid-servant in a house opposite to Ryland's had suddenly left her situation and could not be heard of. In her room, however, some scraps of his writing were discovered, and application was immediately made to him to learn what had become of her. The only answer that he would give was, that she was provided for; and with this, during the days of his prosperity, her friends were obliged to be satisfied. When, however, his fortune was ruined by his condemnation, they desired to be more particularly informed of her condition. They accordingly applied to him in Newgate, but could get no specific answer to their inquiries. Hearing that, Mr. Howard promised that he would bring back an account of the unfortunate girl's situation in twenty-four hours, and he fulfilled his promise. She had been kept by Ryland in a village at some distance from London, where she was found by her relations, and restored to their protection."

Another instance of the like power, and of his courage in its exercise, is thus recorded:—

"During an alarming riot at the Savoy, the prisoners had killed two of their keepers, and no person dared to approach them, until the intrepid Howard insisted on entering their prison. In vain his friends, in vain the gaolers, endeavoured to dissuade him: in he went among two hundred ruffians, when such was the effect of his mild and benign manner, that they soon listened to his remonstrances, represented their grievances, and at last allowed themselves to be quietly reconducted to their cells."

Although intrepidity so happily exerted is perhaps unparalleled, yet many illustrations of the power of kindness combined with bold determination might be adduced. The commencement of Mrs. Fry's pious activity amongst the prisoners of

Newgate claims a notice in the biography of our Philanthropist. Her first visit is thus described by her equally benevolent brother, J. J. Gurney:—

“At an early period of her life in London, she was informed of the terrible condition of the female prisoners in Newgate. The part of the prison allotted to them was a scene of the wildest disorder. Swearing, drinking, gambling, and fighting were their only employments; filth and corruption prevailed on every side. Notwithstanding the warnings of the turnkeys, that her purse and watch, and even her life, would be endangered, she resolved to go in without any protection, and to face this disorganised multitude. After being locked up with them she addressed them with her usual dignity, power, and gentleness; soon calmed their fury and fixed their attention; and then proposed to them a variety of rules for the regulation of their conduct, to which, after her kind and lucid explanations, they all gave a hearty consent.”

Nor were the holy endeavours of Sarah Martin in a more humble sphere less instructive and encouraging.

Howard at this time appears to have determined that the remainder of his life should be spent in the retirement of Cardington amongst his select friends, the chief of whom was the Rev. Mr. Smith, and in watchful exercise of that more private benevolence the records of which have perhaps been too much omitted in our account of his public munificence. That there had been no cessation of such charity we have the following testimony:—

“His very intimate and confidential friend, the Rev. Mr. Smith of Bedford, gives me the following account of

this part of his conduct, at a time when he was deeply engaged in those public exertions which might be supposed to interfere with his private and local benefactions:—‘He still continued to devise liberal things for his poor neighbours and tenants; and, considering how much his heart and time were engaged in his great and comprehensive plans, it was surprising with what minuteness he would send home his directions about his private donations. His *schools* were continued to the last.’ It is impossible any stronger proof can be given, that the habit of doing good was wrought into his very nature, than that, while his public actions placed him without a rival for deeds of philanthropy, he should still be unable to satisfy his benevolent desires without his accustomed benefits to his neighbours and dependents.”*

The celebrity which the Philanthropist had now acquired drew many visitors to his residence; and, although so much averse from ostentation, he strictly charged his servants to allow access, and as strictly forbade them to receive any gratuity.

Howard’s occupations in this retirement seem to have been similar to those before described. His former abstemiousness and regularity were continued, but neither at Cardington nor in his town residence in Great Ormond Street were his friends treated otherwise than in a manner which became his station. Notwithstanding the nature of his charitable labours brought him so much into contact with the rough and rude of his own sex, yet he found especial pleasure in the society of intelligent and well-bred women. It appears, indeed, that at this time he would gladly have married again if he

* Aikin, p. 36.

could have met with a suitable partner. On this subject we again quote his friend Dr. Aikin : —

“ He was fond of nothing so much as the conversation of women of education and cultivated manners. In his judgment of female character, it was manifest that the idea of his lost Harriet was the standard of excellence, and, if ever he had married again, a resemblance to her would have been the principal motive of his choice. I recollect to this purpose a singular anecdote, which he related to us on his return from one of his tours. In going from one town in Holland to another in the common passage-boat, he was placed near an elderly gentleman, who had in company a young lady of a most engaging manner and appearance, which very strongly reminded him of his Harriet. He was so much struck with her, that, on arriving at the place of destination, he caused his servant to follow them and get intelligence who they were. It was not without some disappointment that he learned that the old gentleman was an eminent merchant, and the young lady — *his wife.*” *

Another curious adventure, the issue of which was not more successful, is left on record. Howard is said to have derived so much pleasure from the perusal of some writings of a lady, that he made an excursion into the neighbourhood of her residence, resolved to make her the offer of his hand if further inquiry should confirm his estimate of her worth. On his arrival at an hotel he sought information of a gentleman with whom he fell in company, and found that another admirer had secured the prize. His chagrin, however, was somewhat lessened by sympathy when he discovered

* Aikin, p. 233.

that his companion, having travelled upon the same errand, was as much disappointed as himself.

The reader has learned something of young Howard's life, and may probably have anticipated the sad tale of the present page. He has been told of the ardent love which was the constraining motive of all the father's conduct, and of the austere manner which concealed the fervour of that affection from the wayward child; how the intense anxiety of paternal fondness prompted the mistaken course of stern control; how the son, doubly endeared, was the subject of —

“Care full of Love, and yet severe as Hate!

O'er the soul's joy so oft did Fondness frown!”

Now the consequences of such culture were too evident. A long interval had elapsed since Howard relinquished the early education of his child, and his frequent journeys had prevented constant intercourse. But the impressions of infancy were never effaced; the early prejudice against the parent who exacted submission by the force of authority, instead of inducing filial obedience by the influence of love, had never been corrected. The father's power had now passed away, but the son's prejudice remained. No permanent motive to obedience, then, preserved the youth. For that loving father he felt little respect and less affection. These safeguards against temptation were gone; and, thus exposed, he was ensnared by one whose seducements he would have repelled with horror if he had been led to love and

honour the parent whom he could no longer be compelled to obey. Thomasson, the early attendant of young Howard, has been described as on that account the favourite servant of the father. He was regarded by him as entirely trustworthy whilst he was guilty of the most cruel treachery. Taking advantage of his confidential service, he instilled the most abominable sentiments into the mind of the simple lad; and, during a stay in London about this time, he took the opportunities afforded by the early hour at which his master retired to rest, to introduce him to places of the worst resort and to companions of the most profligate character. Many months passed before this villany was discovered. At length the faithful coachman to whom we have referred suspected the evil, and before his master left home in 1785 he endeavoured to persuade him to take his son with him. But the journey was perilous, and he would not without good reason expose his servant, much less his son, to the danger from which he himself in the discharge of duty did not shrink. Thomasson therefore was left at home; and then, with a vanity the baseness of which was aggravated by his shameless perfidy, he boasted to his fellow-servants of the corrupting influence he had exerted. The poor victim of his atrocious conduct had been entered at the University of Edinburgh, and was placed by his father under the care of Dr. Blacklock before he embarked. But, ere long, his vicious excesses brought on disease: ashamed to consult a physician, he applied remedies himself

which produced permanent injury. A nervous temperament was ere long followed by evident symptoms of mental aberration. The malady increased, and with it his profligacy and vice; whilst the uncertainty of his temper excited the disgust and aversion of all whose acquaintance was of any value, or had any tendency to restrain him. After a time, therefore, the distressed father took him again to Cardington, where, although his conduct was destructive of Howard's comfort, yet, separated from evil associates and soothed by kindness, he in a measure recovered. Conscious that his own influence was lost, and yet hopeful that change of scene, some further education, and intercourse with superiors, might reclaim and restore the unhappy youth, Howard accompanied him to Cambridge, at which University he had several friends; amongst them the Rev. R. Robinson, to whose special care he commended him. He was then entered a Fellow Commoner of St. John's College.

It was not because the subject of our memoir was bowed down with disappointment and distress on account of the circumstances we have described, and was therefore weary of life, that he resolved to confront Death in its most frightful form, and sought at so much personal risk to avert from others that scourge by which the Destroyer triumphed. Holier motives incited Howard when he entered upon a task which none beside would undertake, and endeavoured by personal investigation to ascertain the means by which the raging pestilence might

be restrained. In his introduction to the volume from which chiefly we must trace his course during the next four years, he informs us —

“I had been led, by the view of several lazarettos in my travels, to consider how much all trading nations are exposed to that dreadful scourge of mankind which those structures are intended to prevent, and to reflect how very rude and imperfect our own police was with respect to this object. It likewise struck me that establishments, effectual for the prevention of the most infectious of all diseases, must afford many useful hints for guarding against the propagation of contagious distempers in general. These various considerations induced me in the last edition of the State of Prisons, &c. to express a wish ‘that some future traveller would give us plans of the lazarettos at Leghorn, Ancona, and other places.’ At length I determined to procure these plans, and acquire all the necessary information respecting them, myself.”

This was not a rash enterprise undertaken without due preparation. We have observed that Howard was not altogether destitute of medical science himself, but, instead of presuming on such partial knowledge as empirics are too prone to do, he adopted the more prudent course of consulting his friends, Dr. Aikin and Dr. Jebb, and, at their suggestion, a list of queries was framed, which he might put to the physicians who attended the lazarettos he proposed to visit. Furnished with this, he sailed for Holland in November, 1785. He desired to commence his inquiries at Marseilles, but, aware of the jealousy with which the French watched their trade with the Levant, he foresaw there would be some difficulty in gaining access to

the lazaretto of that port; he therefore secured the negotiation of Lord Caermarthen, who was then foreign secretary. After waiting a few days at the Hague for some communication, he proceeded to Utrecht, where, at the house of his friend Dr. Brown, he received a despatch informing him not only that his request had been refused, but that he was forbidden to enter France at all, and a threat of incarceration in the Bastille enforced the prohibition. His friend, therefore, endeavoured to dissuade him from proceeding. But Howard had settled his purpose, and, considering that any report of lazarettos would be imperfect unless it described that of Marseilles, he determined, confiding in the protection of Divine Providence, to make a personal inspection, or sacrifice himself in the attempt. Proceeding therefore by way of Dort, Antwerp, and Brussels, he reached Paris in a few days. To avoid detection he went to an obscure inn, having taken his place by the Lyons diligence which started the next morning. At an early hour he went to bed, but about midnight was aroused by a violent knocking at his room-door. Access was demanded, and, on the door being opened, the servant, with a candle in each hand, followed by a man in black clothes, with a sword at his side, entered, and in a tone of authority asked if his name was not Howard. "Yes; and what of that?" was the bold reply. "Did you come to Paris in the Brussels diligence, in company with a man in a black wig?" was the further inquiry, to which question he

answered, with equal intrepidity, that he “paid no attention to such trifles.” The unwelcome visitor then retired. Howard might well fear that his design was frustrated, but he was not again disturbed, and at the appointed hour he very gladly took his seat and set off for Lyons. He now travelled as an English physician, and was happy enough to sustain the character he assumed by prescribing with good effect for a lady who was taken ill on the journey.* On his arrival at Lyons after the midnight interruption he would not needlessly expose himself, but visited two or three Protestant clergymen. Yet the remembrance of misery in the dungeons of this city forbade his proceeding before he had again seen its prisons and hospitals. Thence he proceeded to Avignon; and on visiting the prison there he tells us—

“On taking notice of the rings, pullies, &c. for the torture, the gaoler told me he had seen drops of blood mingled with the sweat on the breasts of some who had suffered.”†

On reaching Marseilles, Howard went to his friend the Rev. Mr. Durand, who, on seeing him, at once said — “Mr. Howard, I have always been glad to see you till now. Leave France as fast as you can; I know they are searching for you in all directions.” Here too he discovered that the man in a black wig, who travelled with him to Paris, was sent as a spy by the French ambassador at the Hague, and that he would have been at once

* Brown, p. 452.

† Foreign Prisons, p. 53.

arrested but that many had recently been taken into custody on frivolous pretences, and the prefect, who had left Paris for the day, had given orders that no further arrests should be made until his return. This occurred on the following evening, when the humane traveller was sought for, but in vain. Such a providential circumstance must have inspired him with fresh confidence, and the advice of his friend was not followed. Access was procured to the lazaretto, and all the information he desired obtained. A plan was made, and the particulars published.

Whilst at Marseilles, the Philanthropist heard of an interesting prisoner in the galleys at Toulon, and he resolved to visit him. He therefore set off, dressed in the height of French fashion, and so gained admission. He has given the following account of this special object of his attention:—

“ Protestants are not compelled to attend mass. The last person who was confined *for his religion* was released about eight years ago. There is but one slave here who now professes himself a Protestant, and his name is François Condè. He has been confined in the galleys forty-two years, for being concerned with some boys in a quarrel with a gentleman (who lost his gold-headed cane) in a private house in Paris. The boys were apprehended, and this Condè, though only fourteen years of age, and lame of one arm, was condemned to the galleys for *life*. After four or five years he procured a Bible and learned by himself to read; and becoming, through close application to the Scriptures, convinced that his religion was *antichristian*, he publicly renounced it, and declared and defended his sentiments. Ever since he has continued a steady Protest-

ant, humble and modest, with a character irreproachable and exemplary, respected and esteemed by his officers and fellow-prisoners. I brought away with me some musical pipes of his turning and tuning. He was in the gallery appropriated to the infirm and aged; and these, besides the usual allowance of bread, have an additional allowance from the King of nine sous a day.”*

Having now procured the desired information, Howard considered how he could best escape. The attempt to do so by land appeared too hazardous; he therefore by a large offer induced the captain of a wind-bound vessel to convey him to Nice. They had scarcely cleared the harbour before they were driven into the island of Port Crosce, of which we have the following notice:—

“I lay a few nights in the old castle of Portman, in the isle of Port Crosce, and found there an ancient prison. The descent is by a ladder, through a stone aperture of four feet in diameter; which, after the ladder is removed and the hole covered, is a secure but dreadful place of confinement.”†

After a rough passage, Howard reached Nice; and thence the following letter was addressed to his friend Mr. Smith:—

“Nice, Jan. 30. 1786.

“Sir, — I persuade myself that a line to acquaint you that I am safe and well out of France will give you pleasure. I had a nice part to act; I travelled as an English doctor, and perhaps among the number of empirics I did as little mischief as most of them. I never dined or supped in public; the secret was only entrusted to the French Protestant ministers. I was five days at

* Foreign Prisons, p. 55.

† Ibid. 56.

Marseilles and four at Toulon ; it was thought I could not get out of France by land, so I forced out a Genoese ship, and have been many days striving against wind and tide, three days in an almost desolate island, overgrown with myrtle, rosemary, and thyme.

“ Last Sunday fortnight, at the meeting at Toulon, though the door was locked and the curtains drawn, one coming late put the assembly in fear, even to inquiry before the door was opened. I was twice over the arsenal, though strictly prohibited to our countrymen: there is a singular slave, who has publicly professed himself a Protestant these thirty-six years, a sensible, good man, with an unexceptionable and even amiable character. The last person who was confined merely for his religion was released about eight years ago. My friend may think I have taken a final leave of a perfidious, jealous, and ungenerous nation.

“ I am bound this week for Genoa, and then to Leghorn, where a lazaretto has been built within these few years. I know, Sir, you will not treat any new attempt as wild and chimerical, yet I must say it requires a steadiness of resolution not to be shaken to pursue it.

“ My best compliments to Mrs. Smith and our Bedford friends, and inform John Prole that I am well.

“ I write this with my windows open, in full view of an orange grove, though the mountains I see at a great distance covered with snow. With my best wishes, I remain your affectionate friend.”

There appears little doubt that the ill-feeling of the French government towards our humane countryman arose either from his patriotic conduct at Dunkirk*, or from the republication of the pamphlet on the Bastile. He seems now to have abandoned

* See p. 271.

the shores of France for ever. The following memorandum was made on the occasion:—

“However I may esteem some few of the *French*, yet their government I dislike — their national character I detest.”

About the same time the following entries appear in his Diary, no doubt suggested by recent events:

“Very important is a well-regulated police: does not the certainty of punishment keep the Foot Guards, who are very profligate, from the commission of crimes? so that we seldom hear of robberies by them. Why may not the same strict police be kept towards other offenders? Is it not injustice to individuals, and cruelty to the public, frequently to pardon notorious offenders?”

“Let this maxim be a leading feature in my life — constantly to favour and relieve those that are lowest.

“The ways of God are a uniform scheme of Providence. What God does now, we shall know hereafter.”*

After inspecting the prisons and hospitals at Nice, the benevolent tourist pursued his course to Genoa, and thence to Leghorn, visiting similar institutions. At both places every facility was afforded for obtaining the most accurate description of the lazarettos, which were extolled as the best in Europe. In the former city he also visited the Great Hospital, of which he says —

“A very large convent, in which only ten friars reside, covers a great part of this hospital; and I apprehend, annually, occasions the death of a number of patients *double* that of friars in the convent. The benefactors to this hos-

* Brown, p. 460.

pital are distinguished by the different postures and attitudes in which their statues are placed, in the wards and on the staircase, according to the different sums which they have contributed. Many are placed standing; but a hundred thousand crowns entitles to a chair. I observed a statue which had one of the feet under the chair; and was told that the reason was, that the benefactor honoured by it had contributed only ninety thousand crowns. The statues in the wards are *now* injurious by harbouring dust. From a regard to the health of patients, I wish to see plain white walls in hospitals, and no article of ornamental furniture."

The Grand Duke was at Leghorn during Howard's visit, and sent him an invitation to dinner; but the honour was declined as interfering with his humane intentions: yet a pleasing record is left of the Philanthropist's respect for that prince:—

"The repeated visits I have paid to his prisons, hospitals, &c. have given me the fullest conviction that he is the true father and friend of his country." *

Pisa, Florence, and Rome were next revisited.

"In the noble hospital of San Michele," he writes, "I passed two mornings, and found it sadly neglected by the cardinal and inspectors, who never visit it. The present pope's favourite institution is a seminary or school for young women; where neatness, economy, and industry must give pleasure to every visitant." †

Howard was honoured with an interview with the Papal Sovereign, when all ceremony usual on such occasions was dispensed with. And never did the outward show of subjection to his supremacy

* Lazarettos, p. 7.

† Foreign Prisons, p. 58.

so dignify that aged prelate as his condescension and benignity on this occasion, when, on taking leave of his visitor, the venerable pontiff clasped his hand, and affectionately said — “*I know you Englishmen do not value these things; but the blessing of an old man can do you no harm.*”

From Rome the illustrious traveller proceeded to Naples, and thence embarked for Malta, where he arrived on the 29th of March. The weather on his voyage became tempestuous, and the crew was in extreme peril, but mercifully preserved. Sicily had been almost depopulated by tremendous earthquakes, and the lazaretto of Messina was seen in ruins, so that Howard felt the less regret at being unable to land. Access to the prisons and hospitals of Malta was ensured by a letter from the British Ambassador at Naples. Their condition and government may be learned from the following extracts:

“The prison at Malta consists of several dirty and offensive rooms in the town-house, where in April 1786 there were nine prisoners. One of them, a Turk, had suffered the torture; in consequence of which a mortification had taken place, and the surgeon was applying the bark internally and externally: the second time I saw him he was worse, but I did not continue long enough in the island to know the event.

“The slaves have many rooms, and each sect their chapels or mosques, and sick rooms apart. A woollen manufactory is carried on by some of them, but the majority are blacks, and unhappy objects; for the *religion* (the knights so called), being sworn to make *perpetual* war with the Turks, carry off by piracy many of the peasants, fishermen, or sailors from the Barbary coasts. How dreadful!

that those who glory in bearing on their breasts the sign of the Prince of Peace should harbour such malignant dispositions against their fellow creatures, and by their own example encourage piracy in the states of Barbary. Do not these knights by such conduct make themselves the worst enemies to the cross of Christ, under the pretence of friendship ? ”

“ The number of patients in the hospital during the time I was at Malta (March 29th to April 19th, 1786) was from five hundred and ten to five hundred and thirty-two. These were served by the most dirty, ragged, unfeeling, and inhuman persons I ever saw. I once found eight or nine of them highly entertained with a delirious *dying* patient. The governor told me they had only twenty-two servants, and that many of them were debtors or criminals, who had fled thither for refuge. At the same time I observed that near *forty* attendants were kept to take care of about twenty-six *horses* and the same number of *mules* in the Grand Master’s stables ; and that *there* all was clean. I cannot help adding, that in the centre of each of these stables there was a fountain, out of which water was constantly running into a stone basin ; but that in the hospital, though there was indeed a place for a fountain, there was no water. The slow hospital fever, the inevitable consequence of closeness and uncleanness, prevails here.” *

At an interview with the Grand Master, Howard faithfully expostulated with him, and expressed a desire that he would sometimes walk through the hospitals. “ Whereupon,” he says, “ my animadversions were reckoned too free, yet they produced an alteration for the better.”

Two letters written by Howard from Malta

* Lazarettos and Foreign Prisons, pp. 58. 60.

have been preserved. The former, addressed to his faithful bailiff, is significant of the affability with which his dependants were treated : —

“ March 31. 1786.—John Prole, I am well, with intrepid spirits and resolution in the pursuit of my determined object, but I have had a sad winter to combat with; some days on a desolate island on the south of France, and last Sunday morning a sad storm from 12 to 4; we expected our watery grave: though our sailors all cried to St. Anthony to save them, it was God that had mercy on us.

“ I have had my audience of the Grand Master, and he granted my request, so that every place is flung open to me. We are here as warm as June, yet the first salutation is, ‘It is cold, Sir,’ which they find, as they are wrapt up in great coats. I see peas and beans in plenty in the streets, but I take my tea in the morning, and a little weak chocolate in the evening. I sail for Turkey in ten days, if everything succeeds as I have laid my plan. I have hopes to be at Vienna, on my return home, the latter end of July or beginning of August. My object is great, and liable to a fatal miscarriage. My zeal, I hope, will not abate, nor will I look back. My best compliments to my Cardington friends. I remain yours to serve you, J. H.”

The next letter was written to a friend, in which, after describing his route thither, he adds —

“ I have paid two visits to the Grand Master. Every place is flung open to me. He has sent me what is thought a great present, a pound of nice butter, as we are here all burnt up, yet peas and beans in plenty; melons ripe, roses and flowers in abundance; but at night tormented with millions of fleas, gnats, &c. . . . One effect I find during my visits to the lazarettos, viz. a heavy head-ache, a pain across my forehead, but it has always quite left me in one hour after I have come from these places. As I am quite

alone, I have need to summon all my courage and resolution. You will say it is a great design, and so liable to a fatal miscarriage. I must adopt the motto of a Maltese baron — *Non nisi per ardua*. I will not think my friend is amongst the many who treat every new attempt as wild and chimerical, and as was first said of my former attempt, that it would produce no real or lasting advantage. But I persevere ‘through good report and evil report.’ I know I run the greatest risk of my life. Permit me to declare the sense of my mind in the expressive words of Dr. Doddridge — ‘I have no hope in what I have been or done.’ Yet there is a hope set before me. In Him, the Lord Jesus Christ, I trust. In Him I have strong consolation. These days (Sundays) I go little out. I have the notes of several sermons, and my Bible with me. It is a pain to see in almost all the churches, in large gold letters, ‘INDULGENTIA PLENARIA.’ And before the crucifixes, on canvas or stone, in the street, with — *Qui elucidant me vitam eternam habebunt* — and poor creatures starved and almost naked, putting into the box grains, five of which make one halfpenny.

“I am, I bless God, pretty well; calm, steady spirits. All see at the inns, &c. that I have the mode of travelling, and try to oblige me, but I inflexibly keep to my mode of living, with regimen or low diet. The physicians in Turkey, I hear, are very attentive at the time the plague is there.

“In many instances God has disappointed my fears, and exceeded my hopes.

“Remember me to any of our friends. A share in your serious moments. Thanks for kindnesses shown to mind and body.”

Not satisfied with the information he had as yet obtained, Howard resolved, as intimated in the foregoing letter, to visit the cities in which he might see more of the nature and treatment of that terrible

disease which was the subject of his investigation. "I also pleased myself," he says, "with the idea, not only of learning, but of being able to communicate somewhat to the inhabitants of those distant regions."* With these benevolent designs he accordingly sailed for Smyrna. On reaching Zante he visited its lazaretto and other public buildings. Arrived at Smyrna, taking a dragoman into his service, he immediately sought admission to the prisons and hospitals. At the gate of the chief prison were three Turks idly smoking, who gave a surly reply to his application; but on hearing that he was a physician they were respectful, and complied with his request. Successful practice in his assumed profession procured additional favour, and paved his way towards attaining his object. We have the following note of this inspection:—

"So speedy is the execution of justice here, that I found in this prison no more than seven prisoners at any of the three visits which I made to it in 1786. One of these prisoners having been bastinadoed so severely that he was swelled from head to foot, I advised him to bathe in the sea, and to apply to the soles of his feet plasters made of salt and vinegar. In the use of these means, with the addition of two doses of Glauber's salts, he recovered; and I acquired a credit which made the keepers, in my subsequent visits, particularly attentive to me."

Another result of his professional celebrity was, that he attended the Cadí on his visit to the shopkeepers to examine their weights and measures,

* Lazarettos, p. 2.

when if any were faulty, imprisonment followed, or the bastinado was at once inflicted. Terror was evident in the countenances of all, as well it might be, for mere suspicion on the part of an incompetent judge entailed that cruel severity of miscalled speedy justice. Amongst the hospitals visited, Howard found that one was under the government of an aged prior, who, having himself suffered from the plague, was now devoting himself to the relief of others, in fulfilment of a vow. From him he learned that about half the number of his patients died.

Being in Smyrna on Sunday, he says —

“ Here I had an opportunity, which in this tour I did not enjoy at any of the hotels of the ambassadors, of attending public worship on Sunday, performed by the worthy chaplain to the factory. I take this occasion of mentioning a secret source of *contagious* irreligion, that *most of our ambassadors have no chaplains, nor any religious service in their houses.* With pain I have observed on Sundays many of our young nobility and gentry, who are to fill eminent stations in life, instructed in their houses, by *example* at least, especially in Roman Catholic countries, to make the Lord’s day a season of diversion and amusement. How have I been mortified by the comparison when, after calling at their hotels, I have seen, upon my return from thence, the chapels of the Spanish and French ambassadors crowded ! ” *

From Smyrna the unwearied philanthropist went by sea to Constantinople, where, without hesitation, he visited hospitals in which the plague was raging

* Foreign Prisons, p. 63.

with such malignancy that physicians would not approach. The following are extracts from his notes :—

“ At Galata I found the sick lying on the floors. All were neglected; for none of the faculty would attend them. I requested a young physician who accompanied me to this hospital to set the charitable example. In another I saw many sick and dying objects lying on dirty mats on the floors. In the midst, however, of this neglect of human beings, I saw an *asylum for cats*,—an instance of attention which astonished me.”

The report of Howard's medical skill had reached an officer high in authority at the Ottoman Porte, whose daughter was so afflicted as to have baffled all the efforts of the Turkish physicians. The stranger prescribed, and restored her; and if the delighted father then looked upon her benefactor as possessed of superhuman power, his refusal to accept of any compensation, when a purse of 2000 sequins (about 900*l.*) was pressed upon him, did not lessen his admiration. The disinterested friend of every sufferer told the grateful parent that he did not practise for gain, but that a dish of grapes from his garden would be acceptable to him. He was of course liberally supplied during the remainder of his stay.

It need scarcely be told that all the prisons as well as pest-houses in this city were inspected. The following extract from a letter to Dr. Price shows at how much risk :—

“ I am sorry to say some die of the plague about us ;

one is just carried before my window ; yet I visit where none of my conductors will accompany me. In some hospitals, as in the lazarettos, and yesterday among the sick slaves, I have a constant headache, but in about an hour after it always leaves me." *

A shocking proof was afforded to Howard of the summary and sanguinary vengeance inflicted upon supposed defaulters. The Chamberlain, who had supplied the city with bread, had been summoned by the Grand Vizier. On his arrival in great state at the palace, he was asked why the bread was so bad. "The last harvest was not a good one," was the reply. Apparently satisfied on this point, "Why," said the Vizier, "is the weight short?" "That," said the Chamberlain, "may have happened with two or three loaves, out of so large a number:" he then promised that greater care should be taken. He was ordered from the presence: an executioner was commanded to strike off his head in the street forthwith, where his body was exposed for three days, with three light loaves beside it to denote the crime. Howard expressed some surprise that it had not bred a contagion; when he was informed that the exposure had been only for one entire day. The man had been decapitated in the evening, and the body had lain during the next day, but was removed early in the morning of the third day. "Thus," says Dr. Brown, upon whose authority this statement is given, "the manner of computation in use at the time of our Saviour's

* Aikin, p. 133.

crucifixion and burial still subsists among the eastern nations." *

The Philanthropist now thought of returning, but on reflection it appeared to him that the information he had obtained concerning lazarettos, and the regulations of quarantine, were chiefly from report, the accuracy of which might be suspected; so that his labour, for the sake of a similar institution in England, might be lost. To prevent such an objection, he formed a marvellous resolution of philanthropy; he determined to encounter misery in its most malignant form, that so he might learn the best means for its removal! he resolved to subject himself to the perils and privations of a strict quarantine, and to ascertain by personal endurance the discipline of a pest-house! To this end he proposed to return to Smyrna, where the direful disease was still prevailing, and from which port he might take his passage in some vessel with a "foul bill of health." On his way he visited the hospitals of Salonica and Scio. That of the Jews, at the former place, he describes as—

"A sort of spacious shed, lightsome, airy; and being quite open, without surrounding walls, it would have greatly pleased my esteemed friend Dr. Jebb, who says, in his work on Prisons, 'lofty walls and iron doors and grated windows enclose disease as well as misery of other kinds.'" †

From Salonica, Howard wrote to a friend, and describes some interesting events of his voyage:—

* Brown, p. 476.

† Foreign Prisons, p. 65.

“July 22. 1786.—With pleasure I will converse an hour with my worthy friend, who, I doubt not, has been informed of my intention to visit, and collect all the plans, regulations, &c. of the principal lazarettos in Europe. I have been at Marseilles, Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, Malta, &c. &c. Several questions (with consulting fees) have been put to the first physicians of those places, relative to their treatment of persons in the plague; but thinking I should gain more knowledge in the Greek hospitals for that disorder, I have been to Zante, Smyrna, and Constantinople, and I came hither about a week ago. I visit boldly, but am forced to keep it secret. I always have, in those places, a painful headache, but it has ever left me in an hour after my removal.

“I came hither on Saturday in a Greek boat, full of passengers, one of whom being taken ill, he was brought to me, as I always pass for a physician. I felt his pulse, looked at the swelling, and ordered him to keep warm in a little cabin, as he had caught cold; in two hours after I sent for a French captain, desiring him to give no alarm, but said that I was persuaded that man had the plague; and, on Tuesday after, I saw the grave in which he was buried.

“I visit all the prisons to inform myself, but my interpreters are very cross with me. I am bound for Scio, as in that island is the most famous hospital in the Levant. My quarantine of forty days’ imprisonment is to be, I hope, at Venice. I could easily have made my route by land to Vienna, without being stopped, as no quarantine is performed on the confines of the emperor’s dominions; but should such an establishment for our shipping be ever introduced into England, things which now may appear trivial may be of future importance in case of such a new foundation: I have therefore procured from the Venetian ambassador the strongest recommendation to assist me in the minutest observations I may make during my quarantine. I bless God I am quite well, calm and in steady

spirits ; indeed I have at times need of determined resolution, as since I left Helvoetsluys I have never met with any English ship, or travelled one mile with any of my countrymen.

“I am persuaded I am engaged in a good cause, and confirmed of having a good God and Master. His approbation will be an abundant recompence for all the little pleasures I may have given up.

“At Smyrna the Franks’ or foreigners’ houses are shut up ; every thing they receive is fumigated, and their provisions pass through water ; but in Constantinople, where many of the natives drop down dead, houses of the Franks are still kept open. I there conversed with an Italian merchant on Thursday, and had observed to a gentleman how sprightly he was ; he replied, he had a fine trade, and was in the prime of life ; but, alas ! on Saturday he died, and was buried, having every sign of the plague.

“A line through our ambassador at Vienna will be a cordial to the drooping spirits of your affectionate friend,
“J. H.”

On landing at Scio, Howard visited the hospital for lepers. They were in separate apartments ; had little gardens, in which grew almonds, herbs, figs, and grapes : two streams of water from the mountains flowed through them. Their visitor begged that they might have baths provided.*

On reaching Smyrna, the hero of humanity finding a vessel bound for Venice with the “foul bill”—a requisite none beside ever sought for—at once went on board. They had not sailed far before his valour was called forth in a new sphere. Having touched at the Morea for water, they had no sooner

* Foreign Prisons, p. 65. book ii.

got to sea again than a Tunisian privateer attacked them. Bravery was shown on both sides, but the Moors were the stronger party, and there was little hope of escape from those merciless pirates. There was a large cannon on board; it was loaded with spikes, nails, and other missiles, pointed by Howard, and, just as the corsair was bearing down upon them, discharged with such effect that several were slain, and the survivors sheered off. Thankful for the strength by which he had been sustained, he ascribed the victory to Him who gave it. The absence of vainglory proves the source of his valour, and few will doubt the truth of his declaration,—“This interposition of Divine Providence saved us from a dreadful fate.”* Nor was this the first time a ship’s crew had been preserved in those seas because one who spake the words of prayer, confidence, and praise, sailed amongst them.†

Thus mercifully delivered,—not merely from the risk of slavery, which must have been the result of capture, even had life been spared, but, as Howard tells us, from certain death, since, as he afterwards learned, “the captain had determined to blow up the ship rather than surrender,”‡—they now pursued their voyage towards Venice, touching at Corfu and Castel-Novo as they passed. Adverse winds

* Lazarettos, p. 22.

† “God hath given thee all them that sail with thee.”—Acts, xxvii. 24.

‡ Lazarettos, p. 22.

and rough weather had prevented their reaching the desired port in less than two months. Howard, on his arrival, anxious to become acquainted with all the precautions connected with the quarantine, accompanied the captain to the health-office. The next day he was conducted to a lazaretto, and thence, after a few days, removed to another, both of which were extremely dirty; and, although the regulations were good, they were disregarded, or often counteracted, through the extortion of those appointed to enforce them. During his close confinement in these pestilential abodes, he wrote several letters to his friends and servants, and from these we shall best learn his condition and state of mind. From them also we ascertain his feelings with reference to two events, opposed to each other in their nature and general tendency, but to the Christian character of Howard, if not equally distressing, yet both productive of much vexation and poignant sorrow. One was an attempt to dignify him with the highest honour; the other, calculated to disgrace his name and to destroy his dearest hopes. A magnificent statue was proposed to perpetuate his fame: the misconduct of his son might have been a cause of lasting infamy, but for virtues which afford such ample vindication.

The first suggestion for erecting a monument to Howard was made by a correspondent of the Gentleman's Magazine for May 1786, who had met him in Rome, and, in the course of a short conversation,

conceived the highest admiration of his character. He described him as "the most truly glorious of mortal beings, whom he all but worshipped." With an activity in accordance with this enthusiastic expression, he began to form a fund, and reasonably expected that the friends of Howard, and of the humanity which he saw personified, would readily contribute towards a statue commemorative of such merit. The proposal was welcomed by all, excepting the most intimate associates of Howard. Those who knew little more of him than his humanity were disposed to deify him, like the generous person who suggested the plan; but the few who, by more close communion, had discovered the really godlike nature of his benevolence, and continually discerned the Christian motive of his charity, discouraged the scheme. They foresaw that the rare virtue of humility which reigned in the mind of the Philanthropist would receive a painful wound by such a flattering distinction; and they would not provide the weapon. Only three of them would subscribe, and they were probably induced rather by the desire to perpetuate his example than to please Howard himself. One of these, Dr. Lettson, supported the project by a donation of 10*l.* and an offer to receive further contributions. The following is an extract from his letter, which appeared in the following number of the periodical in which the original proposal was made:—

"Virtue, whether shining in the public walks of life, or emitting the soft rays of human benevolence in the dun-

geous of misery, will ever obtain its own internal reward beyond all the powers of sculpture ; but to exhibit that evidence to the public, to excite emulation in virtuous pursuits, and to induce spectators to go and do so likewise, nothing seems more conducive than a monument to Howard."

Men of the first rank and character throughout the country hastened to enrol their names, and to evince their esteem for one so deserving ; so that, in the words of a contemporary poet, —

" A spirit like his own began to move,
A thousand virtues kindled at his name."

When conveying information of this design, which they were persuaded would be so unwelcome, it was the more painful task of his correspondents to acquaint Howard with the flagrant misconduct of his unhappy son. The affectionate father, on his departure, had left him in possession of Cardington, with power over his household, and permission to invite to his home what companions he might choose. Although much care had been taken to introduce him to a class of young men in Cambridge whose influence might be most favourable to the correction of his character, he soon, by misconduct, disgusted them, and contracted friendship with a set more congenial to his depraved principles and evil habits. During the vacations, these were the visitors at Cardington ; and, within those walls where the voice of harmony and love and holiness had long prevailed, strange sounds of discord, revelry, and vice were often heard. The pious domestics commiserated

each other, prayed for the prodigal, and anticipated in some measure their master's grief. Sometimes the behaviour, both at home and amongst the tenants of that peaceful village, was so bad as to oblige them to complain and seek redress. On these occasions they generally applied to the Rev. Mr. Smith, who, as the chief friend of his father, still retained some influence over this most pitiable youth. The feeling manifested, the unfounded prejudice and ungoverned passions, soon convinced that friend that they were assignable to some mental derangement. The time, however, had not arrived when of necessity the parent must learn the heart-rending truth; and Mr. Smith, in communicating to Howard the knowledge of his son's offences, carefully abstained from describing the suspected cause. The following letter, addressed to one of his servants, appears to have been written very soon after the sad intelligence had been received. It is dated from the lazaretto at Venice, Oct. 12. 1786; and in it, after mentioning several particulars of his travels which have been noticed, Howard proceeds:—

“ On the receipt of my letters my accumulated misfortunes almost sink me. I am sorry, very sorry on your account; I will hasten home, no time will I lose by night or day; but forty days I have still to be confined here, as our ship had a foul bill of health, the plague being in the place from whence we sailed: but we are healthy; whilst others anchored to burn the clothes of those that died of the plague on board two ships. I am fully persuaded, had you

been with me this Turkey tour, you would have died with the fatigue, or of the plague that rages in that country.

“Then that very hasty and disagreeable measure that is taken in London, wounds me sadly indeed. Alas! what a sad mixture of folly and sin is there in our best performances. Such praise is highly displeasing to a thinking mind. Never have I returned to my country with such a heavy heart as I now do.

“Our consul deceived me in not sending the currants for my poor friends at Cardington, but the vice-consul will cheerfully send them from Zante, and they are much finer this year than last; distribute them to my tenants and the poor cottagers.

“I have such a head-ache, I can only add that I am your friend to serve you,
J. H.” *

About the same time a letter was despatched in reply to Mr. Smith, a part of which has been transcribed by Dr. Aikin: —

“‘To hasten to the other very distressing affair: oh, why could not my friends, who know how much I detest such parade, have stopped such a hasty measure! As a private man with some peculiarities, I wished to retire into obscurity and silence. Indeed, my friend, I cannot bear the thought of being thus dragged out. I immediately wrote, and hope something may be done to stop it. My best friends must disapprove it. It deranges and confounds all my schemes. My exaltation is my fall, my misfortune.’

“He mentions in the same letter, as a proof how opposite his wishes were to monumental honours, that, before he set out on his journey, he had given directions that in case of his death his funeral expenses should not exceed ten pounds; that his tomb should be a plain slip of marble

* Brown, p. 486.

placed under that of his dear Henrietta in Cardington church, with this inscription,—

“JOHN HOWARD, Died —, Aged —.

MY HOPE IS IN CHRIST.”*

Similar expressions of humility and sorrow, with resignation and faith, occur in other letters written during his seclusion. In one addressed to his relative Mr. Tatnall, after telling him that his resolution did not fail when exposed to infection from the plague, or when in conflict with the privateer, he adds —

“But, alas! I was nearly overset when I received my letters. My son gives me no little concern, but ‘shall I receive good at the hand of God, and shall I not receive evil?’ All hearts are in His hands; there I must leave it.”

One bearing nearly the same date was addressed by Howard to his bailiff, the first paragraph of which has been inserted in a former page. The letter is further interesting as showing to some extent his private charity, which was never disregarded whilst devoting himself to public service:—

“ As to another affair, it distresses my mind. Whoever set it afoot I know not, but sure I am they were totally unacquainted with my temper and disposition; I once before, on an application to sit for my picture to be placed in public, hesitated not a moment in showing my aversion to it; and as I knew I was going on a dangerous expedition, Thomas will remember almost the last words I said to him — ‘If I die abroad, do not let me be moved, let there be only a plain slip of marble placed under that of my wife Henrietta’s, with this inscription — John Howard, died —, aged —: My hope is in Christ.’ This I said

* Aikin, p. 145.

that Mr. Leeds and my son might know that my mind is fixed and still unaltered. I have set many engines to work to check the flames, for I bless God I know myself too well to be pleased with such praise, when, alas! we have nothing of our own but folly and sin.

“Now as to our Cardington affairs, I hope everything goes on smoothly; Mr. * * *, &c. and cottagers must not get behindhand in their rent: when Reuben leaves his farm, if you choose it, it shall not be raised; if otherwise, should it not be nearly the same as Smith’s? After Christmas desire Mr. Lilburn to settle your accounts to the two Christmases, as it will be easier for me, separating the school bills, donations, taxes, &c. from other things.

“Samuel Preston I hope is well; if otherwise, anything I will do for the two widows. Mrs. Morgan I hope is well; tell her if Nottingham’s girl continues good, two guineas she may lay out for her in any manner she thinks proper. You will pay to Mr. Symonds my subscription to Michaelmas. At Christmas give Mrs. Thompson and Beccles each 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rayner what I usually give him, 10*s.* 6*d.*; if not given last Christmas, then 1*l.* 1*s.*; Dolly Basset 1*l.* 1*s.*; the blind man’s widow 10*s.* Five guineas to ten poor widows, that is to each half a guinea, where you think it will be most acceptable: one of which widows Mrs. Tingey, in memory of Joseph Tingey, whom I promised to excuse one year’s rent. Five guineas also to ten families that you think proper objects: one of which Richard Ward’s. I think you said Abraham Stevens left a girl and a boy, one of which is dead; privately inquire the character, disposition, and circumstances of the other. You will accept of coat, waistcoat, and breeches. I hope the walks before my house, Joseph Crockford’s, the new one near the bridge, and by Broadfield’s and Walker’s, are neat. Tell Joseph Walker to remind Mr. Whitbread relative to his brother’s pay, &c.

“Is my chaise-horse gone blind or spoiled? Duke is well, must have his range when past his labour; not doing

such a cruel thing as with the old mare ; I have a thousand times repented it. I mentioned in Thomas's letter that you will write to me at Amsterdam ; but when my confinement is finished I have a long journey through bad roads and snow, but through mercy my calm spirits and steady resolution do not forsake me, which the sailors observed during the action with the Barbary pirate : and I well remember I had a good night, when, one evening, my cabin baskets, &c. were floated with water, and, thinking I should be some hours in drying it up, I went to bed to forget it."

CHAPTER XIV.

HOWARD AT VENICE. — ITS DESPOTIC GOVERNMENT. — TRAGIC OCCURRENCES. — SAILS FOR TRIESTE, AND THENCE TO VIENNA. — INTERVIEW WITH THE EMPEROR. — FAITHFUL ADMONITIONS. — HOWARD'S PROTEST AGAINST HIS MONUMENT. — RETURNS TO FRANKFORT, AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, UTRECHT, AND AMSTERDAM. — HIS SON'S LUNACY. — RETURNS TO ENGLAND. — PREVENTS MONUMENT. — RESUMES INSPECTION OF ENGLISH PRISONS. — BAD STATE OF LONDON GAOLS. — PENAL LABOUR DEPRECATED. — REVISITS IRISH PRISONS AND SCHOOLS. — ENGLISH GAOLS AGAIN INSPECTED. — SEPARATE CONFINEMENT IN GAOLS OF MANCHESTER, HORSHAM, GLOUCESTER. — ITS PURPOSE. — HOWARD'S APPROVAL OF THE PLAN. — HIS CONSTANT PRUDENCE. — RELIGIOUS DISCIPLINE.

WHEN the appointed time of confinement in the lazaretto had expired, and Howard had by personal suffering ascertained the treatment pursued, he was set at liberty, but was so enfeebled that he felt obliged to remain in Venice another week. During which time he was not inactive: the galley slaves and other prisoners were visited, and portions of his time were spent in obtaining valuable information. He learned especially to esteem more highly the form of government established in his native land, from the contrast which the tyranny of this republic presented. The following tragic proofs of cruel despotism were described to his friend Brown: —

“A German merchant happening to be at Venice on business, supped every night at a small inn, in company

with a few other persons. An officer of the state inquisition came to him one evening, and ordered him to follow whither he led, and to deliver to him his trunk, after having put his seal upon it. The merchant asked why he must do this, but received no answer to his inquiry, except by the officer's putting his hand to his lips as a signal for silence. He then muffled his head in a cloak, and guided him through different streets to a low gate, which he was ordered to enter; and, stooping down, he was led through various passages under ground to a small, dark apartment, where he continued all that night. The next day he was conducted into a larger room hung with black, with a single wax light and a crucifix on its mantel-piece. Having remained here in perfect solitude for a couple of days, he suddenly saw a curtain drawn, and heard a voice questioning him concerning his name, his business, the company he kept, and particularly whether he had not been, on a certain day, in the society of persons who were mentioned, and heard an abbé, who was also named, make use of expressions now accurately repeated. At last he was asked if he should know the abbé if he saw him, and, on his answering that he should, a long curtain was drawn aside and he saw this very person hanging on a gibbet. He was then dismissed."

Another scene was scarcely less revolting:—

"A senator of this republic was called up from his bed one night by an officer of this same inquisition, and commanded to follow him: he obeyed the summons, and found a gondola waiting near his door, in which he was rowed out of the harbour to a spot where another gondola was fastened to a post. Into this he was ordered to step, and the cabin door being opened, he was conducted into it, and, as a dead body with a rope about its neck was shown him, he was asked if he knew it. He answered that he did, and shook through every limb as he spoke; but he

was then conveyed back to his house, and nothing more was ever said to him upon the subject. The body he had seen was that of the tutor to his children, who had been carried out of his house that very night and strangled. The senator, delighted with this young man's conversation, used to treat him with great familiarity, and in those unguarded moments communicated to him some political matters of no great importance, but which he thoughtlessly mentioned again to others; an imprudence for which he paid dearly with his life, whilst his generous patron was thus admonished of his indiscretion by the sight of his strangled body."

When the Philanthropist had sufficiently recruited his strength he hastened from the scene of his voluntary seclusion, and from a city in which atrocities so abhorrent from his nature were perpetrated. Crossing the Adriatic for Trieste, although still suffering from the low fever contracted in the filthy lazaretto, he visited its prisons and hospitals, and thence passed on rapidly to Vienna. Here, too, continued weakness did not prevent his persevering inquiry. The result of his investigation into the various penal and charitable institutions of that city we learn from his own record of a conference with the Emperor, who was exemplary in his government of those establishments. Always averse from ostentation, Howard having travelled from Trieste in the Sub-Governor's carriage, alighted before he reached the town, as he had previously done at St. Petersburg; but his reputation forbade the obscurity he sought, and through the British ambassador he received a request that he would afford His Im-

perial Majesty the information he had obtained. Conscious of the honour, yet too much valuing time to waste it in useless converse even with a sovereign, he at once asked "Can I do any good by going?" at the same time saying that he had many objections to the plans pursued, and that if interrogated he must freely speak his mind. Being assured that good might result, he consented; and the following is his account of the conversation: —

"Christmas Day, 1786, Vienna. — I this day had the honour of near two hours' conversation in private with the Emperor: his very condescending and affable manner gave me that freedom of speech which enabled me plainly and freely to tell him my mind. His Majesty began on his Military Hospital, then the Great Hospital, also the Lunatic Hospital, the defects of which I told him. On prisons I fully opened my mind. It pleased God to give me full recollection and freedom of speech. His Majesty stopped me, and said "*You hang in your country.*" I said 'Yes,' but death was more desirable than the misery such wretches endure in total darkness, chained to the wall, no visitor, no priest, even for two years together; it was a punishment too great for human nature to bear, many had lost their rational faculties by it. His Majesty asked me the condition our prisons were in at London; I said they were bad, but in a way of improvement, but that all Europe had their eyes on his Majesty, who had made such alterations in his hospitals and prisons. I said the object was to make them *better men and useful subjects.* The Emperor shook me by the hand, and said I had given him much pleasure. He freely and openly conversed with me. I admire his condescension and affability, his thirst and desire to do good, and to strike out great objects. He was not a month on the throne before he saw every prison and

hospital; now he continually and unexpectedly looks into all his establishments. I have seen him go out in his chariot with only one footman, no guards, no attendance; sometimes drives himself with only his coachman behind; looks into everything, knows everything, I think means well. The Emperor told his minister he was greatly pleased with my visit; I had not pleaded for the prisoners with soft and flattering speech that meant nothing: some things I advised he *should* do, others he should *not* do."

A further account of this interesting conference has been preserved by Howard's two friends, Dr. Brown and Dr. Lettsom, to whom he described it soon after the occurrence. It appears that to the first intimation of the Emperor's desire, given through Count Kaunitz, his minister, a reply was made that his early departure the next morning would prevent the pleasure of waiting on His Majesty. He then received a second message through the British ambassador, informing him that the Emperor would receive him at the earliest hour he chose before he left. Nine o'clock was the time appointed, and punctually at that hour the Philanthropist was ushered into an apartment of the palace, furnished in the plainest style, and was welcomed in a familiar manner by its royal occupant. The first inquiry was respecting the Military Hospital at Vienna. Howard replied that it was "ill constructed: one defect particularly struck me; the care of the sick is committed to *men*, who are very unfit for that office, especially when it is imposed upon them as a punishment, which I understand to be the case here." Then followed the

conversation which has been described, after which further inquiry was made concerning workhouses. "In them, too," said he, "there are many defects. The people are obliged to lie in their clothes; little or no attention is paid to cleanliness; and the allowance of bread is too small." "Where," asked His Majesty, "did you see any better institutions of this kind?" "There *was one* better," was the answer, "at Ghent; but not so now; not so now!" At this the Emperor started, and seemed a great deal shocked; but he had magnanimity enough to take the bold reprover by the hand, as he had done more than once during the preceding part of their discourse, and, on taking his leave, thanked him most cordially for his advice.*

The bold Philanthropist, after this interview, waited two days in the Austrian capital to ascertain whether any happy effect resulted from the faithful expostulation, and he had the satisfaction to find that orders were issued for the correction of several evils he had pointed out. During this protracted stay, his celebrity and the news of his reception at Court brought several visitors; amongst them the Governor of Upper Austria and his Countess, and we have the following notice of the interview: —

"In a tone of hauteur the lady inquired into the state of the prisons in the government to which the Count had recently been appointed. 'The worst in all Germany,' said Howard, without a moment's hesitation, 'particularly

* Brown, p. 506.

in the condition of the female prisoners; and I recommend you, countess, to visit them personally, as the best means of rectifying the abuses in their management.' 'I!' said she haughtily, 'I go into prisons!' and she so rapidly descended the staircase with her husband, that he was afraid some accident would befall them before they got into the street. Yet, notwithstanding the precipitancy of their retreat, the indignant friend of the captive called after her, in a loud tone of voice, "Madam, remember that you are a woman yourself, and must soon, like the most miserable female prisoner in a dungeon, inhabit but a small space of that earth from which you equally originated."*

Whilst in this city, some notes on the treatment of criminals were found in his Diary: amongst them he writes, —

"Persons in high life may think sweeping the streets, drawing barges, and other such works, is worse than death; but they should consider their rank, character, and habits of thinking are very different from those persons who are so punished. The desire of life, and hope of seeing better days, are the strongest passions in *them*, and therefore death they dread and most fear. — A line should be drawn; justice is due to the injured, and we should be careful to prevent the honest being plundered."

Howard at this time received further information respecting the fund for his monument, which was rapidly augmenting. He therefore deprecated the measure, in a letter addressed to the committee which had been constituted for the purpose: —

"Vienna, Dec. 15. 1786.

"Gentlemen,—I shall ever think it an honour to have my weak endeavours approved by so many respectable persons,

* Brown, p. 507.

who devote their time, and have so generously subscribed towards a fund for relieving prisoners and reforming prisons; but to the erecting a monument, permit me in the most fixed and unequivocal manner to declare my repugnancy to such a design, and that the execution of it will be a *punishment* to me: it is therefore, Gentlemen, my particular and earnest request, that so distinguished a mark of me may, for ever, be laid aside. With great regard,

“ I am, Gentlemen,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ JOHN HOWARD.”

In returning into Holland the indefatigable traveller passed over 500 miles without stopping for rest or refreshment. Visiting public institutions on his way at Frankfort, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Bois le Duc, he reached Utrecht January 15. 1787, where he found the house of his friend Dr. Brown had been recently burned to the ground. Thence he proceeded to Amsterdam. He commends, on this occasion, some arrangements in the administration of justice which he had not before noticed:—

“ No such thing in Holland as king’s evidence. No punishment to prisoners who escape; though others, who break open a prison, are punishable with death. Owing to the solemnity of the administration of oaths, perjury is not so frequent here as in other countries. I could wish, from the clearest principles of reason and sound policy, that the use of oaths, in almost all cases were abolished, and that the affirmation of the fact should be sufficient, and that he who asserted or affirmed a falsity should be punished and disgraced as a perjurer.” *

At this period the eccentricities of young Howard

* Foreign Prisons, p. 74.

so increased, that mental derangement was no longer doubtful. First at Cambridge and then at Cardington his conduct was intolerable. He suspected that his servants endeavoured to administer poison or by some means to destroy him. Soon he became violent, and conceived feelings of hatred towards his father and his attendants. On one occasion, when the vile Thomasson — towards whom, from early attachment, it might be thought he retained some regard — went into his room ; he seized the poker, and threw it with such force that a blow from it might have been fatal. It became necessary to place him in confinement, which was accordingly done by his relatives. Assured of the intense grief which the event would excite in the affectionate father, his friends were still unwilling to inform him of his son's real condition. His servant Prole at length thought it his duty to communicate the sad intelligence, and it was done. The following letter was subsequently written to Mr. Smith : —

“ Amsterdam, Jan. 18. 1787.

“ Dear Sir, — I thank you for your kind letter, which I have just received, as I came here last night. The first 500 miles I never stopped but to change horses, for, being alone, my tea once a day, and some bread and apples in my chaise, did not detain me ; in the remaining 300 miles I stopped a night or two, as they were so very cold, and perhaps I was more sensible of it as we had a hot summer in Turkey. In ten days after my arrival at Vienna my fever left me, and my usual calm, steady, and, permit me to say, resolute spirits flowed in their usual channel. The Emperor desired to see me, with whom I had the honour of a private audience above an hour and a half. He took me by the

hand three times in conversation, and thanked me for the visit, and afterwards told our ambassador that 'his countryman spoke well for prisoners; that he used no flowers, which others ever do, and mean nothing.'—But his greatest favour to me was his immediate attention to the relief of prisoners; that Sir Robert Keith said if I would not permit my statue to be put up in England, the prisoners would do it at Vienna: and indeed of the two I should like it best, as the latter would be out of sight, as nobody is permitted to come there but by an order.

"I propose being in London about the 7th Feb. I have a melancholy letter from John Prole, relative to my unhappy young man; it is indeed a bitter affliction: a son, an only son!

"Mr. Leeds has kindly done what I think I should have done for the first trial, to see what effect it would have on him; but in such a situation I cannot live in the house. I shall request once more a line to meet me the 7th of next month, and inform me how things *really* go at Cardington. I am anxious to know the true state of things there.

"You remind me of the saying of an excellent man, *Indocti cælum rapiunt*.

"With all good wishes, I am sincerely yours,

"J. H."

Howard was no stranger to sorrow before; but vain would be any attempt to express the aggravated grief under which he groaned, when, on his return a fortnight after the above letter was despatched, he discovered that his beloved son was bound as a raving maniac in his abode at Cardington. He visited the scene of woe; but to remain when he could afford no relief,—on the contrary, when his very presence seemed to increase the calamity,—had it been possible, would have been

inprudent. He therefore returned to London, anxiously desiring to put an end to the more public annoyance which the "Howardian Fund" occasioned. Many of the subscribers were still most desirous of accomplishing the purpose. Many hoped, according to the language of one, that "reflection would correct the wrong suggestions of sensibility, and that Mr. Howard would at last respect that decision which he was unable to control." They calculated with a very imperfect knowledge of Howard's character. In this, as in other affairs, his decision was based upon principle, and was unalterable. His unmitigated aversion was declared in the following communication, which was advertised in various periodicals:—

"London, Feb. 16. 1787.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—You are entitled to all the gratitude I can express for the testimony of approbation you have intended me, and I am truly sensible of the honour done me; but at the same time you must permit me to inform you, that I cannot, without violating all my feelings, consent to it, and that the execution of your design would be a cruel punishment to me. It is therefore my earnest request, that those friends who wish my happiness and future comfort in life would withdraw their names from the subscription, and that the execution of your design may be laid aside for ever.

"I shall always think the reform now going on in several of the jails of this kingdom, and which I hope will become general, the greatest honour and the most ample reward I can possibly receive.

"I must further inform you that I cannot permit the fund, which in my absence, and without my consent, has been called the 'Howardian Fund,' to go in future by that

name; and that I will have no concern in the disposal of the money subscribed, my situation and various pursuits rendering it impossible for me to pay any attention to such a general plan, which can only be carried into due effect in particular districts, by a constant attention and a constant residence.

“ I am, my Lords and Gentlemen,
“ Your obedient and faithful, humble servant,
“ J. HOWARD.”

Copies of the above letter were also privately forwarded to several friends; to Dr. Lettsom amongst others, and we are told that, on receiving it, he at once went to Howard and spent three hours in a vain attempt to remove his objections. Many others used all their power of persuasion, but none could prevail. His unaffected repugnance fully confirmed the opinion of his more intimate friends; and when one of them mentioned the motive which induced them to refrain from contributing, he replied, — “ My dear friend, I am sure you know me too well to think it would be acceptable to me. I thank you and all my best friends for not assisting to wound my feelings.” He further told them that had a statue been erected he should have been banished from his native country for ever. Prince Kaunitz had assured him that although he might prevent such a monument in England, yet one would certainly be placed in their prisons by the grateful inhabitants of Vienna; to which he answered, — “ I have no objection to its being erected where it shall be invisible.”

Finding that the aversion was invincible, the com-

mittee of the Howardian Fund (as it was still called), which amounted to 1533*l.*, proposed to return all that should be reclaimed, and to invest the remainder, either to be applied at some future time as originally proposed, or to promote some of Howard's own benevolent plans. 500*l.* were restored to the subscribers; 200*l.* were applied for the liberation of 55 poor prisoners in London; a further sum was expended on a medal for each contributor; and the surplus was reserved for that memorial to his worth, after his decease, the erection of which he constantly deprecated whilst living.

This was not the only instance in which the Philanthropist scrupulously objected to any public recognition of his humane exertions. A person, whose name was concealed, deposited 365 guineas—the amount of a year's saving—to be applied as Howard might direct; but, tracing the contribution to the fame he had acquired, he refused to interfere with its disposal.

Amidst the affliction and annoyance endured at this time, Howard was not unmindful of the woes of others. The pious captive at Toulon, so patient in his perpetual bondage, excited his compassion, and a successful application was made for his release. Nor had the shocking scenes of cruelty, distress, and desolation which he had witnessed in distant lands lessened his concern for the victims of misery and vice, so many of whom he had left at home, and who were still lingering in the wretched prisons of his own country. He was

anxious, therefore, to ascertain what improvements had been effected in the construction and regulations of our English gaols; and commenced another inspection with those of the metropolis, about the middle of March, 1787. Here, however, was little cause for congratulation; and the humane inspector must have felt discouraged if he had not observed a truth which every subsequent writer on prison discipline has remarked, namely, that the authorities of London, although foremost in many philanthropic plans and improvements, are, as respects the management of their prisons, the most strangely backward in correcting abuses and providing means of reformation. Howard still found the extortion of fees permitted, and the prisons filthy; disease prevailing, and moral contamination frightful. He protested against the practice of discharging criminals at midnight, homeless, without friends, and destitute. Even new gaols in London did but perpetuate defects, and the miscalled discipline therein adopted, was but a revival of misrule. Thus the Borough Compter is described as —

“A new gaol on a *bad* plan. The wards of the men and women debtors join, so that the prisoners associate together. The whole prison very dirty. Garnish not abolished.” *

I transcribe Buxton's remarks on this same prison, written when thirty years had elapsed: —

“A prison at which I have witnessed as much of what is truly deplorable and dismal as it was ever my misfortune

* Howard, Second Book, p. 130.

to behold ; in which it is difficult to determine whether the vice it encourages is, or is not, surpassed by the measure of misery it inflicts." *

The hulks were revisited by Howard at this time, and great improvement was observable in consequence of attention to several of his suggestions.

The county bridewell of Surrey, and the prisons of Guildford and Kingston, were again inspected. On the first we have these observations : —

“ No alteration, but some loads of gravel or dirt brought by order of the magistrates into the men’s and women’s courts, to be removed in baskets from one side to the other. This reminds me of what I once heard a keeper say, ‘ I endeavour to *plague* and *tease* my prisoners by making them saw wood with a blunt saw.’ The prison not white-washed. , No straw or blankets allowed by the county.” †

The continuance of any punishment amongst us resembling that from which the mind of Howard so evidently revolted, so contrary to the dictates of humanity, justice, and common sense, is a lasting reproach. In offering some comments upon this question of penal treatment, the purpose of legal punishment as defined by Blackstone may be stated with advantage : —

“ The end or final cause of human punishments is not by way of atonement or expiation for the crime committed, — for that must be left to the just determination of the Supreme Being ; but as a caution against future offences of the same kind.” ‡

Paley writes to the same effect : —

* Buxton’s Inquiry, &c., p. 28. † Howard, Second Book, p. 147.

‡ Comment., book iv.

“The proper end of human punishment is not the satisfaction of justice, but the prevention of crimes.” *

Although we retain some penalties designedly exemplary, yet as respects imprisonment and secondary punishments in general, they are professedly corrective; and while their tendency should be to prevent crime, assuredly nothing vindictive ought to be discernible. And yet, in violation of the principles avowed, as if holier teaching had been altogether rejected, and the Tartarus of heathenism had afforded a text-book of penal discipline, practices have been adopted which as evidently accord with the latter as they are alien to the spirit of the former. The code is founded upon Christian Scripture; but in the execution of it, ingenuity has been disgraced to invent means of bodily toil and mental irritation, which might combine the torments of Ixion, Sisyphus, and the Danaides. Hence our tread-wheels, hand-mills, and unproductive labour of every kind;—instruments and modes of punishment whereby the faculties of intelligent beings are abused and they themselves thereby degraded to a depth to which brutes are never debased. The victims of treatment so exasperating feel this for a time, and thirst for revenge; and it is only when such punishment has so degraded the moral sense that the consciousness of manhood is lost in the mere animal sensation, that the irritated and revengeful feelings cease. But can the advocate of vindictive or exemplary

* Moral Philosophy, ch. ix.

punishment rejoice in the accomplishment of his purpose, and imagine that although at the sacrifice of one fellow-mortal here, and probably for ever, still others shall be deterred, and society at any rate derive advantage? Let him not over-estimate the deterring effect of severity. The voice of experience declares its failure, and, whilst exemplary chastisement is not effectual to prevent crime, the deterioration and consequent return of any liberated offender to his former course, together with his pernicious influence upon other men, must tend to perpetuate offences. Again: men who seek to purge the land of guilt and to purify the community by the punishment of those who violate its laws, without regard to their improvement, grievously forget, that although the energies may be crippled, and the prisoner may be deprived of the power to injure, yet the prevention is but temporary, whereas the depravation is lasting; and when on his release the vigour of activity shall revive, it will operate with a virulency exactly proportioned to the degradation which has been produced.

The reader will understand the foregoing remarks as applying to the hard, irksome, unprofitable labour by which it has been contended that criminals should be *punished*. We shall hereafter have occasion to speak of the means of *correction* recommended by Howard; but it can never be supposed that the plans now deprecated were amongst them. Nor can we be so ignorant of the innate and enduring principles of human nature as to believe

that any vicious tendencies can be eradicated by force, or that any virtuous habit may be induced by a succession of involuntary acts. On the contrary, aversion is invariably produced by compulsion. Irrational creatures may be trained to a course of action which they will adhere to when the constraint is taken away; but what slave, however low in the scale of intellectual beings, was ever compelled to love the labour exacted by the lash? If idleness be a characteristic of criminals, care must be taken not to increase the desire for its indulgence; whilst if industry be corrective, let us not inflict it as a punishment, lest the repugnance to it be confirmed. But it is said by some that instruction may be imparted whilst hard servile labour is imposed, and thus a motive to future honesty and industry be supplied. The answer is evident, that toil and mental irritation frustrate every attempt to bring the prisoner under the influence of that moral and religious discipline which alone can effectually correct and reclaim.

But those who, like Howard, are anxious to correct the idleness of criminals, and therefore deprecate all penal treatment which may promote and foster it, — who desire to make them diligent, and therefore watch against every means which might create or increase aversion from industry, — and on no account would inflict as a punishment or as a disgrace that which should be regarded as advantageous and honourable, have been charged with opposing the dispensations of the Almighty, and

with acting contrary to His decrees. Instead of impugning the Divine wisdom and justice, the arguments which have been urged are in strict accordance with God's revealed will and plans. Throughout His moral government we observe that activity is made essential to happiness: that as respects man in his present state, honest industry has ever been needful to his enjoyment; but if honesty has been violated, vice indulged, and the displeasure and chastisement of God incurred, He does not distress the body and distract the mind by compulsory and irksome labour, — but rather enforces leisure in seclusion, and there affords time for reflection. Weariness and suffering will be the condition of the finally impenitent, when the dispensation of mercy has passed; but the present is one of probation, in which the Almighty does, really and in fact, that which human laws recognise as right, but which in their operation is renounced, — namely, seek the improvement of the offender by corrective punishment.*

On the 28th of May, 1787, Howard again embarked for the reinspection of the penal and charitable establishments in Ireland. In Dublin he found the same misrule and consequent misery in the prisons as before described. Drinking was allowed in them to such an extent that constant fighting and uproar was occasioned. "At the

* The author is unwilling to interrupt the biography by a longer dissertation on this subject, which is, however, one of such importance that he has inserted in the Appendix some further remarks upon it.

Newgate one lay dead from this cause in the infirmary, and another was killed in a drunken affray a few days after." After visiting the workhouse and hospitals, he made a more particular examination of the Irish Charter-Schools, the state of which was most deplorable: the teachers were incompetent, and therefore the education was very defective, sometimes wholly disregarded: the abodes were dirty; disease and death prevailed frightfully. Nor was the condition of the public nurseries better. Both, indeed, were so bad that he strongly urged a parliamentary investigation, and suggested many improvements. The respect paid to his opinion by the Irish Parliament had led to the appointment of an inspector-general of prisons, and his particular report of abuses which prevailed lessened the necessity for a description of painful details by their compassionate visitor.

The prisons of Scotland were next visited. The state of many may be inferred from that of the house of correction in Edinburgh, which, in terms of remonstrance with the Lord Provost, is thus described:—

"In the three close rooms were forty-seven women, some of them lying sick. No magistrate ever looked in upon them, and no clergyman ever attended them, or used any endeavours to reclaim them. The Lord Provost said, they were so hardened it could have no effect. I differed in my opinion from his lordship, and told him that on seriously conversing a few minutes with several of them I saw the tears in their eyes."*

* Second Book on Prisons, p. 76.

The remainder of this year was spent in continued labours of benevolence: the prisons of most counties were visited, and many particulars noticed; amongst them he tells us that in the High Gaol at Exeter —

“A shoemaker was at work in the women’s ward; on inquiring the cause I was informed that he was the husband of one sentenced to be transported but, on account of lameness, contracted by fever in the gaol, she could not be removed. Her fifteenth child was born in the prison, and her husband declared he would never leave her. By the kindness of Lord Sydney the woman received pardon, and I since learn that this couple are useful and worthy members of the community.” *

“White without, and foul within,” was the account of the Bristol Newgate. Some convicts were erecting a new gaol in Oxford, and several were permitted to work without their irons. They were orderly; and “the indulgence,” says Howard, “proves that among such delinquents many are reclaimable, and not so abandoned as some are apt to suppose.” Howard mentioned this fact to several on his tour. “Some of the keepers said, ‘they *now* find they can do more with their prisoners by lenient measures than with a rough hand.’ ”

Of the Chester gaol we have the following notice: —

“Prison not secure. The convicts, and prisoners for trial, were severely ironed by the neck, hands, waist, feet, and *chained to the floor*, and *at night* to their beds in the *horrid* dungeon. Here was the first *iron glove* I have seen

* Second Book on Prisons, p. 185.

in England, which, though not yet used, shows the severity of the gaoler's disposition. That prisoners are not supplied with necessary food is a disgrace to such an opulent city."*

At Manchester a "new prison with single cells and separate apartments was building;" and although Howard is silent upon the subject, the inscription on the foundation-stone has been given by his biographer: —

"That there may remain to posterity a monument of the affection and gratitude of this county, to that most excellent person who hath so fully proved the wisdom and humanity of the separate and solitary confinement of offenders, this prison is inscribed with the name of JOHN HOWARD."†

At Preston he found another nearly built on the same plan.

At the commencement of another year the unwearied Philanthropist was still pursuing his researches, constantly affording relief, and cheered by the evidence which these prisons now erecting afforded that his exertions had been to a great extent effectual. And if the prisons of Preston and Manchester, and the improvements elsewhere, served to animate in the course of holy perseverance, one now constructing at Gloucester under the direction of Sir G. O. Paul was yet more calculated to encourage. When that excellent magistrate proposed the building of this penitentiary, he prefaced his remarks by saying —

"It is impossible to enter on this subject without paying a tribute of respect to the indefatigable Mr. Howard,

* Second Book on Prisons, p. 208.

† Brown, p. 536.

the presiding genius of reform of these melancholy mansions of oppression and distress :—to him whose disinterested and diffusive philanthropy is scarcely unknown to any, although not attended to as it ought to be by those for whose information his researches and observations are intended ; for to him all future reformers are indebted for seeing what they see, and feeling what they feel ; they only reflect the rays of his benevolence on mankind.”*

And, in accordance with the desires of one so justly eulogised, a prison was constructed with separate cells, in which a system of discipline was adopted entirely corresponding with Howard’s recommendations. The following is the worthy baronet’s summary of the purposes sought by the plan proposed : —

“Due separation, both by day and night, must be considered as the principle of all improvement. To a certain degree it is necessary to constitute a legal prison ; and there is no possible degree of separation that will not bring with it attendant benefits : it favours every species of reform ; it promotes the purposes of the law in allotting to each offence its distinct mode of confinement and degree of punishment ; it prevents criminal intercourse betwixt the sexes, and that instruction which the younger offender otherwise receives from the profligate ; it of itself ensures protection from every species of contagion ; it favours retreat to those whom a conscious innocence inclines to privacy under their misfortunes : if the principle be extended to a well-regulated solitude it is the most sovereign corrector of a hardened heart ; and, lastly, it is the surest *legal* means of bringing prisoners under authority. It is by cabal and participation of design, and by confidence in numbers, that desperate acts are attempted. By separation,

in their worst designs they are within the power of their keepers."

Prisoners were in due time committed to this penitentiary, and a reformatory process pursued; with what happy effects we have, several years after, the testimony of Sir G. O. Paul before a committee of the House of Commons:—

"It has succeeded in its effects beyond the theory imagined by the original projectors of the system—far, indeed, beyond my most sanguine hopes. It is within my own personal knowledge that many returned from this prison to obtain a livelihood by honest industry."

It had been well for this county if penal discipline so corrective had been pursued to the present day; but after the decease of its founder the entire separation was abandoned, crime thenceforth increased: the error of rejecting it is at length perceived, and the excellent plan is about to be resumed.*

In this year the humane inspector again examined the new gaol at Horsham, constructed on the same plan as that just described, and alike effectual in its reformatory discipline.† Thence he proceeded to Reading, the county bridewell at which place he describes as—

"A new prison, containing six close (called *refractory*) cells, nine feet and a half by seven and a half; eight solitary cells, ten feet by seven feet nine inches, with courts about the same size; and six wards for prisoners, who are permitted to be together. The names of the prisoners

* See Appendix.

† See Prison Discipline, i. 113.

and terms of confinement are written on the doors of their cells. I observed some were for one year; a severe confinement to be so long in solitude, unemployed, in nauseous cells, and without fire in winter."

The circumstance here mentioned gave occasion to Howard to express his opinion more fully on the kind of imprisonment which he considered most corrective:—

"I wish all prisoners to have separate rooms, for hours of thoughtfulness and reflection are necessary. The gentlemen of this county, by their building this house of correction, and in various other instances, have shown themselves so attentive and zealous in whatever may contribute to the real interests of their fellow-creatures, that I am glad to take this occasion of making some remarks on *solitary confinement*. The intention of this, I mean by day as well as by night, is either to reclaim the most atrocious and daring criminals, to punish the refractory for crimes committed in prison, or to make a strong impression in a short time upon thoughtless and irregular young persons, as faulty apprentices and the like. It should therefore be considered by those who are ready to commit, for a long term, petty offenders to *absolute* solitude, that such a state is more than human nature can bear, without the hazard of distraction or despair; that it is repugnant to the Act which orders all persons in houses of correction to *work*; and that for want of some employment in the day (as in several houses of correction) health is injured, and a habit of idleness or inability to labour in future is in danger of being acquired. The beneficial effects on the mind, of such a punishment, are speedy, proceeding from the horror of a vicious person left entirely to his own reflections. This may wear off by long continuance, and a sullen insensibility may succeed." *

* Second Book on Prisons, p. 169.

And, in accordance with the above sentiments, we observe that, in the code of regulations for his proposed penitentiaries, the first provision, under the head "*Lodgings*," is "*Separate cell for each criminal*."*

The reader has perhaps felt some surprise that the pious Philanthropist did not much more insist upon the religious instruction of prisoners. Why, it has been asked with a like feeling, did not one so deeply imbued with Christian principles distribute Bibles and religious books in the several countries to which he travelled, and in which there was such a famine of the word of God and of its doctrine? Elsewhere the writer has assigned probable reasons†; and we have before, in these pages, spoken of his discretion. Of the fervour of his piety, the ardour of his love, and the devotedness of his whole life to the service of God, we can have no doubt; therefore no personal apprehension — no dread of danger, ridicule, or death — deterred him from boldly speaking the truth, and as fearlessly spreading the records of his faith. Christian courage has rarely been exemplified more fully than in Howard's character, but he was never rash or inconsiderate: wisdom and prudence accompanied his zeal; enthusiasm was chastened by holy caution. This rare excellence is traceable and consistent throughout his course. In his public efforts it was the secret of his success; the accomplishment

* Second Book on Prisons, p. 227.

† Prison Discipline, vol. i. p. 20.

of a promise.* Discretion preserved him, and he prospered in consequence. He always had God's glory and the good of men as the end in view; but the exalted purpose did not prevent circumspection in the plan of attaining it. In most of the countries which he traversed, the Bible was forbidden, and a barrier to his humane designs would surely have been raised had he either openly or by artifice attempted its circulation. As the opportunity recurred for the private admonition, the holy precept—pointing the sinner to the source of pardon, and the saint to the attainment of perfection—so often, we doubt not, did the holiness of Howard prompt the discharge of duty, although humility prevented the record. And a recognition of the same motive must supply the answer to the question as respects the prisons he inspected. It was a time when the cause of humanity and moral discipline might be advocated with success; whereas the claims of vital, self-denying, scriptural religion were too commonly despised or disregarded. The cold philosophy of that day would have repudiated the idea of reclaiming criminals by scriptural instruction: the author of such a scheme would have been repulsed as a fanatic; perhaps thenceforth precluded from intercourse with the objects of his charity. With a prudence, therefore, peculiar to himself did Howard avoid precipitancy, and most discreetly seek to remove the obstacles to improvement which the bad construction of prisons, their loathsome con-

* Prov. ii. 11.

dition, and vicious irregularities presented, before he attempted by any direct efforts to secure that moral and religious discipline which he well knew to be alone productive of permanent reformation. Hence then he first appealed to the humanity of men by representing the miseries endured, and pointing out the danger to the community arising from the spread of disease and from the contamination of intercourse. These were matters of much importance, yet the correction of such evil was but subsidiary to the end he sought, and when obtained was regarded as an earnest of greater good. Howard himself writes, in the conclusion of his Second Book,—

“ I have observed with satisfaction the liberal and humane spirit which engages the public to alleviate the sufferings of prisoners in general:” but he then pleads for the adoption of means to effect “ that still more important object, the REFORMATION OF MORALS in our prisons.”

The writer would reproach himself with having very imperfectly portrayed the Christian character of our Philanthropist, if any candid reader should infer that he could calculate upon the moral reformation of offenders by any other means than *religious instruction*. Punishment may in a measure deter; persuasion, founded upon worldly policy, and pointing out the advantages of honesty, may lead to some improvement of conduct; but the Christian must forget his own experience, despise the power by which he has been himself transformed, and level his faith to the wretched standard

of the infidel, before he can prefer the devices of men to those means which the Almighty has appointed, which form the subject of faithful promise, and the efficacy of which he has himself felt. When, therefore, Howard said, "I wish all prisoners to have separate rooms," distinguishing such confinement from "*absolute solitude*," which is a cruel and not a corrective punishment, and when, for the sake of health, energy, and future industry, he deprecated with equal judgment and compassion long imprisonment without suitable occupation, he wisely gave his reason for the wish expressed — "for hours of thoughtfulness and reflection are necessary." To attain this end, he considered separate rooms or cells essential; a punishment too severe without the mitigation of some employment, and unprofitable if the prisoner were left to ruminate on the suggestions of his own mind. Such poison must be prevented, and salutary food imparted: and if the prevailing sentiments of the time forbid the bold assertion that spiritual truth is at once the antidote and the diet required, he does not endanger the plan by a rash crusade against prejudice, but in his prison regulations cautiously stipulates that "Bibles be provided," and that "the chaplain give private admonitions."

It has been elsewhere stated, but may here be repeated for the satisfaction of the Christian reader, that, as if in answer to Howard's prayers, on the very spot where his wish was expressed, a prison after his own heart has been erected, in which the discipline he commended is carefully pursued.

CHAPTER XV.

HOWARD'S PLEASING RETROSPECT. — INSPECTION OF PRISONS CONTINUED. — ALE-HOUSES DEPRECATED. — PRESENT BEER-HOUSES MORE PERNICIOUS. — CROWDED DUNGEONS. — IRELAND REVISITED. — ABUSES IN SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS, AND PRISONS. — ANOTHER TOUR IN ENGLAND. — LONDON PRISONS. — PUBLISHES WORK ON LAZARETTOS AND PRISONS. — SOME PIOUS MAXIMS. — A CHARITABLE SUGGESTION. — ANECDOTES. — PROVIDENTIAL CARE. — HOWARD'S ABSTEMIOUSNESS, PUNCTUALITY, SELF-DENIAL, AND HUMILITY. — LORD THURLOW'S EULOGIUM. — LORD MONBODDO VISITS CARDINGTON. — HOWARD AGAIN AT HOME. — SERIOUS REFLECTIONS. — COWPER QUOTED.

It was our pleasing task in the last chapter to describe some reward of patient perseverance in well-doing which the subject of our memoir was permitted to witness in the reconstruction of several prisons; and truly, if the spirits of departed saints be subsequently conversant with earth, and their delight capable of increase by the accomplishment of their desires, the enjoyment of Howard has been enhanced by the fulfilment of his wish, the answer to his prayer, and the frequent proof afforded of the efficacy of his plans. Or if it be thought that spirits in Paradise have no more intercourse with us, yet, as the angels rejoice over one sinner that repenteth, how gladly must they communicate their joy, and augment the happiness of others with their own, when they testify of souls converted as the

blessed effect of former effort, or the recompence of fervent prayer! We give utterance, then, to no forbidden flight of fancy when we speak of fellowship with Howard still, and feel cheered by some companionship with him whilst visiting in prisons for which he prayed, and occupied as he advised.

But we must revert to the labours of the Philanthropist, from which he has rested, yet still reaps a frequent increase of enjoyment. We have soared perhaps too soon to the contemplation of the exalted happiness he has attained; we are now recalled to our own sphere, and our minds must again accompany Howard to dismal scenes. Still faith delights, and is allowed, to connect his present felicity with his past suffering, and, in retracing his pathway of sympathy and sorrow, to remember he finished his course with joy, and his works followed him. Truly the poet sings —

“The tower where criminals complain,
And fetter'd captives weep in vain,
Are his memorials in the skies,
The portals of his paradise.”

We need not trace Howard throughout his continued tours in England, but be content with noticing the more remarkable circumstances he has described. After revisiting the prisons of South Wales we find him again at Hereford and Worcester. At the gaol of the former city he expressed abhorrence at finding many women in irons. In that of the latter, as two successive keepers had fallen victims to the gaol fever before his former visit, so now a

young physician had died of that dreadful scourge. Upon this he remarks —

“ So many in their zeal to do good have been carried off by this disorder, that it is one incentive to my endeavours for its extirpation. And yet, alas! the dreadful dungeon here, the planks of which are perished by damp and the breath of prisoners, was preparing for others.” *

The following notes were made at Shrewsbury gaol: —

“ Women in irons at night. I have often wished that gentlemen would make rules for the *conduct of gaolers* as well as for prisoners, and many gaolers have wished for such rules. New keepers would then be informed that steady discipline and strict regularity will do more to keep prisoners in health, and prevent the commission of crimes in gaols, than severity and oppression. I have often thought that a sober, humane half-pay officer would make one of the best gaolers.” †

Of Stafford gaol we have the following account:

“ In the dungeon for male felons, I saw fifty-two chained down, hardly fourteen inches being allowed to each. The moisture from their breath ran down the walls. I need not intimate the heat and offensiveness of this dungeon, and the paleness of the prisoners. The women were in irons, and lay in another dungeon. Last year seven of the felons died in their dungeon of the gaol fever; and the free ward, or county chamber, being directly over it, nine out of thirteen of the poor debtors died.” ‡

Opposite this prison there were three ale-houses, and Howard's observations upon the fact deserve special attention at the present time: —

* Second Book on Prisons, p. 172.

† Ib. p. 174.

‡ Ib. p. 173.

“ One of them having harboured a gang of which some were condemned and executed, Judge Buller took away the licence ; but it being now renewed, the house is said to be again the resort of bad company. — The great and increasing number of ale-houses that I observe in my tours through this kingdom I cannot but lament, as it is one great and obvious reason why our prisons are so crowded both with debtors and felons. Many magistrates are sensible of this evil, yet so dreadfully supine and timid as to grant fresh licences (often at the intercession of their interested clerks), in which their conduct is highly culpable. It should be remembered that it is the spirit of our laws, and therefore the duty of magistrates, by every means to *prevent* if possible the commission of crimes.” *

If in Howard's day the number of public-houses was to be deprecated, in our own the more numerous beer-houses which pollute our land are still more prolific of crime. In these haunts of the profane, the profligate, and depraved, gambling, debauchery, and lewdness prevail to a frightful extent. The offences which are traceable to these infamous places are not only, or so much, the result of positive intoxication, as of the general self-indulgence and reckless expenditure of those who frequent them. It is notorious that the keepers of beer-houses are of too low a grade, and of loose morals. Numerous, far beyond the requirements of a sober population, they live upon its licentiousness, they pander to the vicious passions, and thus provide incentives to crime, since it is impossible that the lawful efforts or the honest earnings of

* Second Book on Prisons, p. 173.

their victims can pay the cost of that sensuality and excess which they occasion and encourage :

. . . " 'Tis here they learn
The road that leads from competence and peace
To indigence and rapine."

Nor is the baneful influence of the beer-houses confined to that first process of corrupting the character, whereby they *originate* crime ; but when the criminal, so made, has been corrected, and has given proof of this by a temporary resistance of evil and careful performance of duty, if he afterwards relapse it is almost always traceable either to the solicitations of the beer-seller or to the allurements of his house. What infatuation and frightful idolatry of Mammon is proclaimed by the very apology sometimes offered for the encouragement of these infamous resorts, —

"Th' excise is fatten'd with the rich result
Of all this riot !"

That any revenue of a Christian country should be derived from such scenes of profligacy and crime, and form a plea for their continuance, goes far to imply a national rejection of God's providence, and a bold defiance of His power to punish.

Proceeding to Warwick gaol, Howard reports,—

"I saw thirty-two men lying chained in a dungeon of twenty-two feet diameter, and down thirty-one steps. Two were ill of a fever. Before the convicts went off who lately were ordered to Plymouth, this dungeon was so crowded that some of the poor wretches were forced to

stand up, and take a sort of miserable night-watch, while the others slept. From the aperture of this dungeon, which is 3 feet 3 inches wide (as from the door and the two funnels of the dungeon in the gaol at Stafford) the steam of the prisoners' breath comes out in winter, like the smoke of a chimney. . . . There were three others in a room, very ill, and in irons. In two rooms (seven feet and a half by six and a half), with apertures only in the doors, there lay fourteen women almost suffocated. *Acquitted* prisoners are kept in irons till the judge leaves the town."*

At this time Howard commenced his sixth tour of benevolence in Ireland, having visited on his way thither several more English and Welsh prisons. On his arrival in Dublin, he addressed a letter to his friend Dr. Price, in which he says —

"I have, since my visit to these schools in 1782, been endeavouring to excite the attention of Parliament; and some circumstances being in my favour, a good Lord-Lieutenant, a worthy Secretary (an old acquaintance), and the First Secretary of State, the Provost, a steady friend, I must still pursue it; so I next week set out for Connaught and other remote parts of this kingdom, which indeed are more barbarous than Russia. By my frequent journies my strength is somewhat abated; but not my courage or zeal in the cause I am engaged in."†

This journey was followed by a further exposure of gross abuses in the schools, hospitals, and prisons he inspected. Some new gaols had been erected, and improvements effected in others. The county infirmaries to which government allowance was made were disgracefully managed: the dispensary

* Second Book on Prisons, p. 158.

† Aikin, p. 149.

of one contained only a single pot of ointment, and others but few bottles of medicine. The schools were the subject of parliamentary inquiry, and Howard's evidence was received, but very little reformation was accomplished.

At particular epochs of his life, when entering upon a fresh project, or having completed some benevolent purpose, it was the practice of the holy Philanthropist to renew an act of self-dedication. On his leaving Ireland the following entry was made in his note-book:—

“ May 18. 1788.—I hope my renewed vows were sincere. Help me, O God of my salvation ! ”

Before returning to Bedfordshire the prisons in several other counties were reinspected. They are most of them described as dirty, neglected, and offensive, and the scenes of shocking immoralities. The continuance of the “ tap ” was a chief cause of these evils, and therefore one which the humane visitor most strongly condemned. A fresh occasion for his doing so arose on finding the keeper of the prison at Windsor had been murdered in his tap-room by his prisoners. Crimes of every description were in Howard's day, as at present, traceable to like haunts of self-indulgence, and therefore he discouraged them by all means: hence we find that when he had resumed his labours after a few days' rest at Cardington, and saw some debtors confined for trifling sums, he observes—

“ I have often wished that in all bills for small debts

there was a clause to prohibit arrests for debts contracted in public-houses."

The prisons of London were now revisited, and the truth of our former comment is shown by the first sentence descriptive of Newgate:—

"*No alteration.* In three or four rooms there were near 150 women crowded together, many young creatures with the old and hardened, some of whom had been confined upwards of two years: on the men's side likewise there were many boys of twelve or fourteen years of age; some almost naked. In the men's infirmary there were only seven iron bedsteads; and at my last visit, there being twenty sick, some of them naked and with sores, in a miserable condition, lay on the floor with only a rug. There were four sick in the infirmary for women, which is only fifteen and a half feet by twelve, has but one window, and no bedsteads: sewers offensive: prison not white-washed. Keeper's salary 450*l.* in lieu of the tap. I found some of the *debtors* had in their apartments casks of beer for sale; and on the *felons'* side a person stood with cans of beer. At my last visit I went over the wards of the criminals with Mr. Curtis, the new sheriff, from whose activity and zeal I would hope something may be done for the naked objects left by the late sheriffs. — The allowance of bread should be weighed *in gross*, and delivered to the prisoner every day. Unless the debtors be removed to give room for the separation of the other prisoners, and a reform be made in the prisons, an audacious spirit of profaneness will continue to prevail in the lower class of the people in London."

The frightful demoralization and grievous suffering which Howard witnessed in this loathsome and ill-regulated gaol led him to revert to the statistics of Sir Stephen T. Janssen, which had been burnt with all other records of the Old Bailey in the

riots of 1780. His transcript being the only memorial of that table, he was induced to insert it in his Second Book. And we have the following humane comment upon it : —

“ A careful perusal of this table will, I doubt not, suggest many useful remarks ; particularly, if the number of executions in former years be compared with the constantly increasing number of the present time, it may, more than any thing else, excite a conviction of the necessity of no longer delaying the erection of penitentiary houses, in order to avoid the charges of inhumanity and impolicy in hurrying out of the world so many young creatures, who might have been reclaimed and restored to society by a proper course of discipline.” *

The hospitals of the City especially attracted Howard’s humane attention at this time. He found many gross offences prevailing, and suggested means of correction and plans for general improvement, most of which have been since adopted. One point is worthy of especial consideration, namely, the better provision for convalescent patients.

Amidst these charitable pursuits he was diligently preparing his papers for his work on lazarettos, hospitals, and prisons.† To this he refers in a letter to his bailiff, when, after some directions as to private charities, he proceeds : —

* It will be a relief to the reader to learn that the authorities of our Metropolis are at length erecting a prison on a very large scale, in which, it is hoped, a system of corrective discipline will be pursued.

† This volume is intituled “ An Account of the principal Lazarettos in Europe ; ” but the greater portion of it is descriptive of prisons, so that I have referred to it as Howard’s Second Book on Prisons, when prisons are the subject of reference.

“Six hundred pounds I have already paid for paper, engravings, &c., yet, should it please God I live some few years longer, I will live in a cottage sooner than not accomplish my plan. I still exult in free and vigorous spirits, and am not afraid to undertake any task. I go abroad again; I think it my duty and a call of Providence, and I durst not go back. I will spend some weeks at Cardington when my publication is finished; my mind will be at ease and rest, and perhaps the only rest on this side the grave, for my time of zeal and activity is fast passing away.”

Having duly arranged his papers, he again proceeded to Warrington to superintend the printing of his work, and, in doing so, to receive the able assistance of his friend Dr. Aikin. His mode of life there was very similar to that pursued when engaged with his former publication. He rose at three o'clock in the morning, took breakfast at six, and was in the printing-office at eight. There the day was spent, except a walk during the dinner-hour. If his attendance increased trouble, ample compensation was made. His presence was sometimes a salutary restraint: all was order where he was. It is especially said that no swearer ever received his gratuities. The pressman related that on one occasion, when leaving the office, oaths and curses were heard from a public-house opposite, whereupon Howard, buttoning his pockets, said to the workmen, “I always do this whenever I hear men swear; as I think that any one who can take God’s name in vain, can steal, or do anything that is bad.” *

* Brown, p. 556.

And whilst Howard was thus active, there was the same fervour of love towards God, and the same philanthropy in constant exercise. Some maxims in his memorandum-book of this date clearly evince this: —

“Warrington, 30th Jan. 1789. — Misery is always an object of compassion, and the Word of God saith that to the miserable compassion should be shown.

“Generosity and self-command are the striking aspects of benevolence.

“Courage and humanity are inseparable friends.

“God will, I trust, accept my sincere intentions, though I effect nothing.

“A traveller should have temperance, prudence, and fortitude, a firmness of mind to bear suffering and meet dangers undaunted; — these are necessary for the active scenes of life, and maintenance of the rights of others; for the truest pleasures arise from extensive benevolence — dejection and despair are the consequences of pusillanimity.

“My deliberations are more swayed by what *I* myself think right, than by what is likely to be thought right by *others*.

“A fearless temper and an open heart are seldom strictly allied to prudence.

“Christ has made poverty and meanness, joined with holiness, to be a state of dignity.

“It has been said that ‘the Torch of Philanthropy has been conveyed by Howard’ — May he not hope in that God whose arm is not shortened, that He will spread it to the eastern nations? He worketh by the weakest of all instruments. To Him, to Him alone, be all the glory! God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of Christ.

“The enthusiasm of even a *mistaken* principle warms the mind, and sets it above the fear of death, which in our cooler moments, if we really think of it, is at least very awful: and shall a mistaken principle do more than calm

reason and reflection? Oh, surely no! — yet there is no rational principle by which a man can die contented, but a trust in the mercy of God through the merits of Jesus Christ.

“It has been observed, one has a strange propensity to fix upon some point of time from whence a better course of life may begin: may I not hope, do I not earnestly beg of God, that His grace may be sufficient for me, and his strength perfected in my weakness — that I may from this moment walk with God, adorn my Christian character, be more and more serious, watchful, humble, and, by the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, be made a partaker of the Divine nature, thus formed in me the hope of glory.

“Employ the time of every Sunday in sacred study and in books in which the spirit of Christianity, piety, and morality prevail.”*

The invaluable work of our Christian Philanthropist was published in February, 1789. Its nature and object are sufficiently shown by the extracts from it which have enriched these pages. Its motto was one of those which have been adopted on the title-page of this volume; and to it was added the prayer so familiar to him, and so oft repeated, and for which addition Howard himself assigns a pleasing cause:—

“In attending the service at Lancaster Castle on a Sunday, I observed some of the debtors much affected at this passage in one of the psalms which was read that day: *O, let the sorrowful sighing of the prisoners come before Thee* (Psalm lxxix. 12.): which gave me the hint of taking it for a motto to my present publication.”†

* Brown, p. 557, 8.

† Second Book on Prisons, p. 201.

The work now published was distributed with the same liberality as the former. A large proportion of copies was given away, and for the rest the price was so low—scarcely the cost of printing alone—that they were immediately bought up by the booksellers.

A further proof of his genuine charity was afforded in his desire not only to relieve prisoners from cruelty and oppression, but to provide for the widows and children of their keepers, whose distress he had sometimes witnessed, and no doubt as often mitigated. He writes —

“ Should the plan take place during my life of establishing a permanent charity under some such title as that at Philadelphia, viz., *a society for alleviating the miseries of public prisons*, and annuities be engrafted thereupon for the above-mentioned purpose, I would most readily stand at the bottom of a page as a subscriber of 500*l.*; or if such a society should be constituted within three years after my death, this sum shall be paid out of my estate.” *

Some incidental notices of our generous and self-denying countryman, when pursuing his more recent inquiries, have been preserved; and from them it appears that he continued as abstemious as on former tours. His daily fare consisted of two penny rolls, some butter, cheese, some sweetmeats, a roasted apple, a pint of milk and green tea, of which he partook freely, believing it to be conducive to his health and spirits. From his self-prescribed regimen he very seldom deviated, and

* Brown, p. 562.

very rarely accepted invitations either to dine or partake of other repast. One departure from his general rule has been described. During his journey in Ireland, a nobleman desired that he would dine with him: the invitation was declined, but, on being pressed to accept it, Howard stipulated that his dinner should consist of potatoes only. This was agreed to. On approaching the table he feared the condition had been violated, for it was replenished with nineteen dishes, but, when the covers were removed, all proved to be potatoes, though each cooked in a different manner. The abstemious guest reproached himself for having caused more thought and trouble in the kitchen than if no condition had been imposed.

Nothing could induce Howard, when on his visits of inspection, to accept any present which might have the semblance of a bribe, or which might tend to increase his reluctance to expose abuses. On one occasion we are told, having discovered some gross offences in a prison under the hereditary jurisdiction of a nobleman, his lordship, really anxious to avoid disgrace, but affecting great admiration of the Philanthropist, presented him with a very valuable jewel. The proffered gift was rejected, but the exposure was prevented by a promise that the evil should be corrected.*

Another evidence of his charity was afforded whilst in Dublin. He there made arrangements with a principal bookseller of the city for the sale

* Brown, p. 364.

of a large number of his first Book on Prisons, and of his pamphlet on the Bastile, the proceeds of which were to be paid over to the treasurer of Mercer's Hospital. But this generous endeavour to do good, both by promoting the welfare of prisoners and providing for the sick and needy, was unsuccessful; the vessel on which the package was shipped being wrecked.*

The joy he felt in relieving the oppressed sometimes appears to have compelled him to speak of acts which he generally concealed. His constant attendant notes in his journal at this time that—

“ I have often seen him come to his lodgings in such spirits and joy, when he would say to me, ‘ I have made a poor woman happy; I have sent her husband home to her and her children.’ He would often tell me, too, of such and such a man being kept in prison for his fees, which he had paid, and sent the poor man to his family and home.”†

Howard's manner amongst the depraved characters whom he continually visited had a remarkable power in restraining their vicious propensities. The influence of a holier spirit, in this respect, is always powerful. We have seen it in the case of one sometimes designated the female Howard.‡ Our Philanthropist himself, when closing his description of prisons§, thus writes:—

“ Before I quit this subject, I would mention that in all my visits to the gaols and prisons, in this and other kingdoms, I never received any insults either from keepers or

* Gent. Mag., Aug. 1790. † Brown, p. 567. ‡ See p. 349.

§ Second Book on Prisons, p. 215.

prisoners ; nor have I lost any thing in *any* of them, except that in one of our prisons I once lost a large new handkerchief out of my pocket, which I did not miss for some time, but, on a subsequent visit, about ten months after, it was immediately presented to me by a prisoner, as, he said, he believed I had dropped it when I was there last."

We must not, however, ascribe Howard's preservation from personal injury, or from the loss of property, to his own influence so much as to the gracious protection of Him by whom he was called and commissioned to be a messenger of mercy. The same Divine Providence which prevented the assassin from accomplishing his foul purpose, as before described, curbed the vicious inclinations of men throughout Howard's course: hence it was that, although robberies and assassination were so frequent, both in this country and on the Continent, yet we observe the pious traveller was everywhere preserved. The only loss which he at any time sustained by theft was a box, on his return from one of his tours, which contained an account of his travels. But even in this circumstance a watchful Providence was discernible. He had transcribed his notes, and packed the duplicate in another trunk, in which also he had placed his plan of the lazaretto of Marseilles, of which he had no copy, and which he considered of such value, that he told Dr. Lettsom if he had lost it he would have again encountered the danger of a visit to France.

Punctuality and precision formed another feature

in Howard's character. No time was wasted: if an engagement had been formed, he would converse, as the hour approached, with watch in hand; and would not, if he could avoid it, be a moment too late. Again: he never forgot his mission, and therefore would not suffer lawful indulgences to divert him from it. Dr. Aikin tells us —

“ He mentioned being once prevailed upon, in Italy, to go and hear some extraordinarily fine music; but finding his thoughts too much occupied by it, he would never repeat the indulgence.” *

Howard's self-denial as respects such gratifications, combined with his decision of character, has been commented upon by a powerful writer in terms which demand a place in this memoir:—

“ The mere men of taste ought to be silent respecting such a man as Howard; he is above their sphere of judgment. The invisible spirits, who fulfil their commission of philanthropy among mortals, do not care about pictures, statues, and sumptuous buildings; and no more did he, when the time in which he must have inspected and admired them would have been taken from the work to which he had consecrated his life. The curiosity which he might feel was reduced to wait till the hour should arrive when its gratification should be presented by conscience, which kept a scrupulous charge of all his time, as the most sacred duty of that hour. If he was still at every hour, when it came, fated to feel the attractions of the fine arts but the second claim, they might be sure of their revenge; for no other man will ever visit Rome under such a despotic consciousness of duty as to refuse himself time for surveying the magnificence of its ruins. Such a sin against

* Aikin, p. 212.

taste is very far beyond the reach of common saintship to commit. It implied an inconceivable severity of conviction that he had *one thing to do*; and that he who would do some great thing in this short life must apply himself to the work with such a concentration of his forces as, to idle spectators who live only to amuse themselves, looks like insanity. His attention was so strongly and tenaciously fixed on his object, that, even at the greatest distance, as the Egyptian pyramids to travellers, it appeared to him with a luminous distinctness, as if it had been nigh, and beguiled the toilsome length of labour and enterprise by which he was to reach it. It was so conspicuous before him, that not a step deviated from the direction, and every movement and every day was an approximation. As his method referred every thing he did and thought to the end, and as his exertion did not relax for a moment, he made the trial, so seldom made, what is the utmost effect which may be granted to the last possible efforts of a human agent; and therefore what he did not accomplish, he might conclude to be placed beyond the sphere of mortal activity, and calmly leave to the immediate disposal of Omnipotence." *

And whilst thus devoted to his humane endeavours, he was most humble. Some remarks were one day made in his presence on the general depravity of prisoners, — as Howard thought, with too much complacency. It was immediately met with the meek confession — "I consider that, but for Divine grace, I might have been as abandoned as they are." Deep sympathy accompanied his self-abasement. "You have witnessed many scenes of misery," one said to him: and there was genuine tenderness in the reply — "Yes, more than I could

* Foster's Essays.

relieve; I could, therefore, only drop a tear over them."

The name of Howard had now become inseparably connected with the improvement of prisons and the reformation of their inmates. It was about this time that Lord Thurlow, in a debate upon a Bill for the relief of Insolvent Debtors, observed—

"He had lately had the honour of a conversation upon the subject with a gentleman who was, of all others, the best qualified to treat of it: he meant Mr. Howard, whose humanity, great as it was, was at least equalled by his wisdom, for a more judicious or a more sensible reasoner upon the topic he never had conversed with. His own ideas had been turned to solitary imprisonment and a strict regimen, as a punishment for debt; and that notion had exactly corresponded with Mr. Howard's, who had agreed with him, that the great object ought to be, when it became necessary to seclude a man from society, and imprison him for debt, to take care that he came out of prison no worse a man, in point of health and morals, than he went in." His lordship afterwards recited a story which Howard had told him, in proof of the corruption and licentiousness of our prisons. "A Quaker, he said, called upon him to go with him and witness a scene which, if he were to go singly, would, he feared, be too much for his feelings: it was to visit a friend in distress—a person who had lately gone into the King's Bench prison. When they arrived, they found the man half drunk, playing at fives. Though greatly shocked at the circumstance, they asked him to go with them to the coffee-room, and take a glass of wine. He refused, saying he had drank so much punch that he could not drink wine: however, he would call in upon them before they went away. Howard and his friend returned, with feelings very different from those with which they entered the place, but not less painful."

An interesting anecdote of Howard's fame is thus related by Dr. Aikin :—

“ A very respectable-looking elderly gentleman, on horseback, with a servant, stopped at the inn nearest Mr. Howard's house at Cardington, and entered into conversation with the landlord concerning him. He observed, that characters often appeared very well at a distance, which could not bear close inspection; he had therefore come to Mr. Howard's residence, in order to satisfy himself concerning him. The gentleman then, accompanied by the innkeeper, went to the house and looked through it, with the offices and gardens, which he found in perfect order. He next inquired into Mr. Howard's character as a landlord, which was justly represented; and several neat houses which he had built for his tenants were shown him. The gentleman returned to his inn, declaring himself now satisfied with the truth of all he had heard about Howard. This respectable stranger was no other than Lord Monboddo; and Mr. Howard was much flattered with his visit, and praised his lordship's good sense in taking such a method of coming at the truth, since he thought it worth his trouble.”*

The continued derangement of Howard's unhappy son, and his confinement at Cardington, had prevented the father's residence in his favourite abode. The malady was now so confirmed and malignant that the poor sufferer's removal became necessary, and he was placed in a lunatic asylum, under the care of Dr. Arnold, at Leicester. Howard then returned to his home and resumed the duties of the landlord. The first of these he deemed to be the payment of any arrears in charity; and next, to

* Aikin, p. 150.

renew his acts of kindness amongst his tenants and dependants. We have a pleasing illustration of the considerate manner in which this was done:—

“ Amongst the cottages of his tenants, he entered that of the newly-married wheelwright, whom he thus addressed:—‘ If I had been at home at your marriage, I should have made you a wedding present; and you shall not lose it now, though it shall be a gift to your wife and not to yourself. Come to my house to-morrow morning, and you shall know what it will be.’ On returning home, he asked his bailiff which was the best cow in his farm-yard; and, on its being pointed out to him, directed it to be driven, on the next morning, to the wheelwright’s house. ‘ But no,’ he immediately added, ‘ the poor fellow has nothing to keep her on this winter: we will keep her for him till she has calved.’ This was accordingly done.” *

We are at no loss to discover the secret source of all this considerate kindness, but, as we listen with gladness to the expressions of affection from those whose acts prove their sincerity, so the Christian reader will peruse with pleasure those pious ejaculations proceeding from Howard at this time, and further testifying that it was *faith* which was thus “ *working by love*.”

“ God considers what weak creatures we are, therefore gives us every motive to do good.

“ Jacob speaks of the angel who had been his guide in all his journeys, and had delivered him out of all his dangers;—and Jacob’s God, I trust, is *my* God, and my guide, and my portion for ever.

“ An approving conscience adds pleasure to every act of piety, benevolence, and self-denial. It inspires serenity

* Monthly Mag., quoted by Brown, p. 577.

and brightens every gloomy hour ; disarming adversity, disease, and death. Is it my ambition to put on the Lord Jesus ! — ‘ to have the same mind in me which was also in Him’ ?

“ The peculiar doctrines of Christianity, — the degradation of human nature, our inability to restore ourselves, our need of a Mediator and of Divine aid, — are doctrines which strike at the root of vainglory — we are justified by faith, by the grace of God, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ. Where then is boasting ? It is excluded. Rom. iii. 27. Aim at what is praiseworthy, and then at the approbation of God, who alone is an impartial, infallible Judge. Let it be my earnest inquiry how I shall best serve God in the station which He has assigned me.

“ Our superfluities should be given up for the convenience of others ; —

“ Our conveniences should give place to the necessities of others ; —

“ And even our necessities give way to the extremities of the poor.

“ O God ! may the angel which conducted the Israelites through the desert, accompany and bless me !

“ In all my dangers and difficulties may I have full confidence in that unseen Power, to believe in hope, as the Lord orders all things : therefore I leave every thing to Him, trusting He will always give His angels charge concerning me, and then I am equally safe in every place ; therefore I will fear no evil, for Thou art my God.”

In another memorandum-book the following are inserted :—

“ O God ! succour me in time of trial, and help me to maintain my integrity. My eyes are up to Thee, O God ! to help me to encounter the danger : leave me not to my own strength, but may I rely on Him in whom is everlasting strength. I come to the throne of God for mercy

and help in time of need, and that I may finish my course in peace. Diffident of myself, I look up to God.

“Where there is most holiness there is most humility. Never does our understanding shine more than when it is employed in religion. In certain circumstances retirement is criminal: with a holy fire I would proceed. What is our profession of religion if it does not affect our heart? Shall I desert His cause? O God! may I through divine grace persevere to the end! *My* end, too, is approaching. My desire is to be washed, cleansed, and justified in the blood of Christ, and to dedicate myself to that Saviour who has bought us with a price.”

Howard's prayers always attended his exertions. Short petitions abounded amidst his notes, of which this was one:—

“Do Thou, O Lord! visit the prisoners and captives. Manifest Thy strength in my weakness; help, Almighty God! for in Thee I put my trust, for Thou art my rock.”

We cannot conclude a chapter which describes the holiness of Howard — his purity of motive, his humility, self-denial, and prompt obedience, ever proceeding from the vigour of his faith and the ardour of his affection—in language more suitable than the lines of Cowper:—

. . . “I fear the shame
 (Charity chosen as my theme and aim)
 I must incur, forgetting Howard's name.
 Blest with all wealth can give thee, to resign
 Joys doubly sweet to feelings quick as thine;
 To quit the bliss that rural scenes bestow,
 To seek a nobler amidst scenes of woe;
 To traverse seas, range kingdoms, and bring home,
 Not the proud monuments of Greece or Rome,

But knowledge, such as only dungeons teach,
And only sympathy like thine could reach ;
That Grief, sequester'd from the public stage,
Might smooth her features and enjoy her cage ; —
Speaks a divine ambition, and a zeal
The boldest patriots might be proud to feel.
Oh, that the voice of clamour and debate,
That pleads for peace till it disturbs the state,
Were hush'd in favour of thy generous plea —
The poor thy clients, and Heaven's smile thy fee !”

CHAPTER XVI.

HOWARD DETERMINES TO REVISIT RUSSIA AND TURKEY. — HIS MOTIVES DECLARED. — DISSUADED BY FRIENDS. — PRESENTIMENT OF DEATH. — TAKES LEAVE OF FRIENDS. — HIS WILL. — APPOINTS GUARDIAN OF HIS SON. — DESTROYS VARIOUS RECORDS OF HIMSELF. — EMBARKS FOR HOLLAND. — REVISITS AMSTERDAM. — REMARKS ON THE PLAGUE. — VISIT TO DR. BROWN. — RE-INSPECTS PRISONS AT OSNABURGH AND HANOVER. — TORTURE DUNGEON AT BRUNSWICK. — INFAMOUS PUNISHMENT AT BERLIN. — PRISONS OF SPANDAU AND KONIGSBERG. — ENTERS RUSSIA. — KNOUT-MASTER IN PRISON. — PIOUS REFLECTIONS. — PROCEEDS TO ST. PETERSBURGH, AND THENCE TO MOSCOW. — LETTER TO DR. PRICE.

THE lines which form the conclusion of our last chapter, instead of describing some exploits of poetic fiction, do but relate simple facts in Howard's life. The realities of his charitable career eclipse the visions of romance, and his humane adventures far outshine the feigned achievements of any imagined virtue. If the memorials already written afford occasion for these remarks, those which follow will confirm their truth.

Leaving to others the more easy and less perilous investigation into the causes of human woe, Howard determined again to trace its source where the less ardent would not venture, and to penetrate those inhospitable regions which men in general looked upon as beyond the pale of philanthropy. Russia and Turkey — countries in which the claims of humanity were most violated — he would therefore

revisit. Thither, at the sacrifice of all comfort, and undaunted by any fear of disease or death, he resolved to direct his course. But what would be the opinion of his countrymen upon a project so eccentric and extravagant? Howard's independence of spirit has not escaped our notice: he never courted the favour of men, and cared as little for their frowns; yet, on this occasion, should his good be evil spoken of, it might endanger success, and therefore he will avert the imputations of the malignant, and prevent the misconceptions of other men, by avowing his motives, and so guarding against all malice and mistake. This is carefully done in the following terms: —

“To my country I commit the result of my past labours. It is my intention again to quit it for the purpose of revisiting Russia, Turkey, and some other countries, and extending my tour in the East. I am not insensible of the dangers that must attend such a journey. Trusting, however, in the protection of that kind Providence which has hitherto preserved me, I calmly and cheerfully commit myself to the disposal of unerring wisdom. Should it please God to cut off my life in the prosecution of this design, let not my conduct be uncandidly imputed to rashness or enthusiasm, but to a serious, deliberate conviction that I am pursuing the path of duty; and to a sincere desire of being made an instrument of more extensive usefulness to my fellow-creatures than could be expected in the narrower circle of a retired life.”*

This avowal on the part of Howard called forth expostulation from some of his most attached friends,

* Second Book on Prisons, p. 235.

and we are told "they cautioned him against suffering himself, through an earnest desire of doing good, to be precipitated beyond the clear line of duty." But the person to whom he was accustomed to express his desires and feelings with least reserve, and who was on that account best qualified to advise, — Howard's pastor and friend, — instead of dissuading him from his purpose as either presumptuous or in any respect improper, recommended him to pursue it as both pious and expedient. He would neither restrain the fervour of that charity which should ere long receive a reward in proportion to its exercise; nor would he detain him amidst scenes which renewed distress, whilst they reminded him of the deplorable condition of his beloved son. A sound judgment was discernible in both motives. As a Christian, he appreciated the future recompence; and as a wise physician, who, acquainted with the peculiarities of his patient, prescribes accordingly, he approved of the enterprise to which Howard's mind was disposed, well knowing that one so benevolent would derive the most sure relief of his own sorrow from the alleviation of the woes of others.

The especial purpose of the tour which he now commenced appears to have been a further effort to prevent the contagion of the plague, or to provide a remedy for that dreadful disease, which, notwithstanding its prevalence and destructive nature, was very little understood. This, however, was not the only object which Howard proposed. His

desire and determined endeavour to do good was of a somewhat less definite kind than on previous occasions. And Dr. Aikin observes —

“ If it be asked, what was his more peculiar object in this new journey? no decisive answer, I believe, can be given by those who enjoyed the most of his confidence. I had various conversations with him on the subject; and I found rather a wish to have objects of inquiry pointed out to him by others, than any specific views present to his own mind. As, indeed, his purpose was to explore regions entirely new to him, and of which the police respecting his former objects was very imperfectly known to Europe (for the Turkish dominions in Asia, Egypt, and the Barbary coast, were in his plan of travels), he could not doubt that important subjects for observation would offer themselves unsought. With respect to that part of his tour in which he was to go over ground he had already trodden, I conceive that he expected to do good in that censorial character which his repeated publications, known and attended to all over Europe, gave him a right to assume, and which he had before exercised to the great relief of the miserable in various countries. If to these motives be added the long-formed habitude of pursuing a certain track of inquiry, and an inquietude of mind proceeding from domestic misfortune, no cause will be left to wonder at so speedy a renewal of his toils and dangers.” *

The expressions which have been quoted from Howard's own work were not the only indications he gave of being quite conscious of the dangers he was about to incur. His mind seems to have been firmly impressed with the conviction that he was taking leave of friends for the last time, and his language to them was becoming a Christian thus

* Aikin, p. 184.

persuaded. To one of those friends he observed, in allusion to a saying of Philip Henry, —

“I hope if we meet again on earth we shall be nearer heaven; but if we never see each other more below, I trust we shall meet in heaven.” To another he said — “You will probably never see me again; but, be that as it may, it is a matter of no concern to me, whether I lay down my life in Turkey, in Egypt, in Asia Minor, or elsewhere: my whole endeavour is to fulfil, according to the ability of so weak an instrument as I am, the will of that gracious Providence who has condescended to raise in me a firm persuasion that I am employed in what is consonant to His divine approbation.”*

Again, in the “additions to the Obituary” of the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for Nov. 1790 we have the following notice: —

“Some time before Mr. Howard’s last departure from England, in a conversation with his friend Mr. Blackburn, he expressed a conviction that his death was at no great distance, on the ground that his mode of diet, &c. exactly corresponded with that of the Chinese, few of whom survive their 63rd year.” On parting with another friend, the Rev. Mr. Palmer, with the cheerfulness of the sure and certain hope which is the privilege of the Christian, foreseeing by what death he might pass to eternal life, he said, “We shall soon meet in heaven; and the way to heaven from Grand Cairo is as near as from London.”

The day too before his departure, when affectionately taking leave of a lady, he remarked —

“I am going a very arduous journey; probably, my friend, we shall never meet any more in this world: but it is the path of duty; and, with respect to myself, I am quite resigned to the will of God.”†

* Brown, p. 588.

† *Ib.* 589.

Thus did Howard realise what the venerable poet of our own day has so forcibly expressed: —

“One adequate support
For the calamities of mortal life
Exists,—one only; an assured belief
That the procession of our fate, howe’er
Sad or disturb’d, is order’d by a Being
Of infinite benevolence and power;
Whose everlasting purposes embrace
All accidents, converting them to good.” *

Reflection on the wisdom and goodness of God inspired the mind of Howard with sacred confidence, and cheered him while expatiating on the happy prospect which faith presented to him. Earthly attachments seemed to lose their force as the heavenly world exercised a more powerful, because a nearer, attraction. His expressions resemble the language of Asaph when pious reflection, present peace, and a blissful foresight prompted the song of praise, — “Thou hast holden me by my right hand; thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterwards receive me to glory. Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee. My flesh and my heart faileth; but God is the strength of my heart and my portion for ever.” † And now, with a spirit of holy resignation, joyful hope, and unfailing charity, before his departure Howard makes every arrangement for the disposal of his property. The following

* Whilst this sheet has been in the hands of the compositor, Wordsworth has ceased to experience “the calamities of mortal life,” and we trust now realises, in the highest sense, the truth he taught.

† Ps. lxxiii. 23.

extract from his will is transcribed from the periodical * to which frequent reference has been made : —

“ The will was proved July 12th. The executors were Edward Leeds, Esq. of Croxton, in Cambridgeshire ; and Joseph Leeds, Esq. of Croydon, in Surrey. In case of the death of either of them, William Tatnall, Esq. of Ironmonger Lane, is to succeed to the trust. To these three gentlemen Mr. Howard has left 20*l.* each. And as there are a few singularities in the will of this extraordinary man, an extract is here given, which contains certain legacies to various persons, and for various uses : — ‘ I direct my executors to pay to twenty poor widows of the parish of Cardington, such as they shall think proper objects, two guineas each ; and I also will and direct, that my said executors do pay, apply, or distribute to, or for the benefit of, such poor prisoners as they shall think proper objects, the sum of one hundred pounds ; one moiety thereof to be given to, or applied for the benefit of, prisoners confined for debt ; the other moiety to or for persons confined in houses of correction, for providing linen and other necessaries. I also give unto ten poor cottagers at Cardington aforesaid, who shall be masters of families, and who shall not have been in an alehouse during twelve months next preceding my death, five pounds each ; and I also will and direct, that my said executors do, in like manner, pay unto, or for the benefit of, any ten poor families belonging to the same parish, not receiving parish alms, and who shall have been most constant at any place of public worship for one year next before my death, five pounds for each family. I give and bequeath to the parish of Croxton, in the county of Cambridge, where I married my last invaluable wife, fifty pounds, to be distributed to them, by and at the discretion of my said executors. I give to my servant John Prole fifty pounds ; to my servant Thomas Thomasson twenty pounds ; and I also give to the said Thomasson one annuity of ten pounds. I give to my ser-

vant Joshua Crockford twenty pounds; and to my under gardener ten pounds. I give to the three daughters of the late Mrs. Homer one hundred pounds. I give to Thomas Walker, son of Mrs. Walker, my son's nurse, ten pounds. I give to my tenant, John Nottingham, of Cardington, twenty pounds; and to the widow Thompson, and widow Beccles, of the same place, ten guineas each; and I give to each of my cottage tenants at Cardington five pounds. I give to the Rev. Mr. Townsend of Stoke Newington, the Rev. Mr. Smith of Bedford, and the Rev. Dr. Stennet of Muswell Hill, twenty pounds each. I also will and direct, that my executors do give or distribute unto ten poor members of each of the several congregations of the aforesaid, and also of the Rev. Mr. Simmons of Bedford, and likewise of the meeting at Cotton End in Cardington, two guineas each. I give to Mrs. Anne Blackmore ten pounds; and to Miss Mary Tatnall twenty pounds, and anything she may choose to accept as a memorial of my esteem. I give to Samuel Whitbread, Esq., any three or four pictures or prints he may choose to accept, as a memorial of our long friendship. I give to the Rev. Dr. Price of Hackney, Mr. Densham and Mr. Cole of Kingsland, and to Dr. Aickin of Yarmouth, twenty guineas each. I direct that my body be privately buried wherever I may happen to die, so that the expense do not exceed ten or fifteen guineas. And all the rest and residue of my personal estate, which may remain after payment of my debts, legacies, funeral expenses, and the charges of proving and executing this my will, I give and bequeath unto my said son, John Howard, for his own use and benefit.

“ ‘ My immortal spirit I cast on the sovereign mercy of God, through Jesus Christ, who is the Lord, my strength and my song, and I trust is become my salvation; and I desire that a plain slip of marble may be placed under that of my late wife, containing an inscription of my name, and the year that I died; with this motto—

‘ SPES MEA CHRISTUS.’ ”

In the codicil to the will is as follows : —

“I give and bequeath unto Fanny Nesbitt, whom I have apprenticed, fifty pounds; to Mrs. Hayward, of Luton, in the county of Bedford, twenty pounds. And whereas it is intended to form a society for the purpose of alleviating the miseries of the public prisons, and for raising a fund for providing and securing annuities for that purpose, on the plan suggested in the latter end of my last publication; now it is my will and desire, and I do hereby direct, that if any such society shall have been formed at the time of my death, or shall be formed within three years next after my death, then that the sum of five hundred pounds shall be paid by my executors to the treasurers or trustees, for the time being, of the said intended society, or such other person or persons as shall be authorised to receive subscriptions for and on behalf of the society, to be applied in augmentation of the fund to be established by the said society for the purposes aforesaid.”

The sad condition of his son rendered it needful that Howard should appoint a guardian, and for this office no person could be more fit than his friend Mr. Whitbread, to whom therefore it was entrusted, — and, we need scarcely add, by whom it was faithfully discharged, until the death of the unhappy young man, in his thirty-fifth year, freed him from a responsibility in so many respects painful. The concern which Howard had ever felt for the welfare of his dependants and their offspring was by no means less now that he was about to leave them; his schools and other charitable institutions were therefore commended to the same benevolent and trustworthy friend, under whose care, and that of his family, they continued to flourish in a manner which showed the wisdom of their founder in his

choice, and reflected honour upon the patron to whom they were confided.

We have observed throughout this Memoir how entirely averse the subject of it was from all praise and ostentation; that aversion grew stronger as his charity increased and his virtues ripened. Humility is essential to holiness; and as he advanced towards perfection that grace became more conspicuous. Assured of immortal glory through the merits of his Redeemer, he will ascribe to Him all the honour, and forbid the encomiums of men upon himself. Accordingly, in his last conversation with his beloved friend and pastor, he exacted a promise that, when his funeral sermon should be preached, the particulars of his life should not be spoken of. He desired that no account of himself should be preserved except that which he had described in his own volumes, where he never speaks of himself but with an evident view to the welfare of others. So anxious was he to prevent the praise of men, that before his departure he burned all the letters and records at Cardington which might tend to excite it: fortunately, however, some documents of this kind were not in his possession at the time, and, as Brown observes, "they have been preserved for the illustration of a character which, however much opposed to his wishes, the general interest of society requires us to hold up to the admiration and imitation of others."

Preparation was now made for what the devoted Philanthropist believed to be his last farewell—

which, with Howard, was really the parting prayer, not the mere formal expression. His debts were discharged; his property disposed of; his servants duly provided for, especially the faithful bailiff, who, because of his fidelity, had been settled in an adjoining farm, and whose wife, with other tokens of his master's favour, was entrusted with the miniature of her mistress. The gardener also received an ample recompence for a service of many years, and with it some commissions; amongst them — as on the last night they paced the favourite pathway, now overspread with trees, which oneso much revered had planted — he was especially enjoined to preserve those and other memorials. The grounds were to be kept arranged as he was leaving them, for, said he “all is now exactly in the order I desire; and if I return to my native land, here I intend to end my days.”

It was with some reluctance that Howard consented to the urgent entreaties of Thomasson, that he might be allowed to accompany him on another and the last perilous adventure. That servant had been sent forward to make preparations, and at the end of June his master followed him to London, where he bade a hasty farewell to his friends. His last interview with Dr. Price is thus described: —

“Before he set out, he and his very intimate and highly respected friend Dr. Price took a most affectionate and pathetic leave of each other. From the age and infirmities of the one, and the hazards the other was going to encounter, it was the foreboding of each of them that they

should never meet again in this world : and their farewell corresponded with the solemnity of such an occasion. The reader's mind will pause upon the parting embrace of two such men ; and revere the mixture of cordial affection, tender regret, philosophic firmness, and Christian resignation, which their minds must have displayed." *

Early in July, 1789, Howard embarked : a memorandum of his own tells us, —

“ In confidence on God, who has been my help, I cheerfully set out on my journey, and came to Amsterdam the 7th of July, where I first visited the hospitals for the sick.”

The prisons and other institutions of Amsterdam were revisited, and thence he proceeded to Utrecht, where he again visited his friend Dr. Brown, who described to Howard's biographer of the same name the following relaxation of a general rule on the part of his guest : —

“ There resided at this time in Utrecht a very worthy and humane gentleman of the name of Loten, who had been for many years the Dutch governor of Ceylon. I had the honour of his particular acquaintance ; and he expressed to me the strong desire he felt to be introduced to Mr. Howard, though, as he was confined to the house by asthma, he could not go out to wait on him. I mentioned this circumstance to Mr. Howard, and described to him Mr. Loten's character in that amiable point of view in which it so fully deserved to be placed. The Philanthropist immediately requested me to introduce him to my friend ; and added, ‘ For such a man as you have described this gentleman to me, I will depart from my rule ; and if he does me the honour of asking me to dinner, I will certainly accept the invitation.’ This reply I reported to Mr.

* Aikin, p. 186.

Loten, and he sent an immediate invitation to Mr. Howard, who dined with him accordingly, though without violating his constant regimen in abstaining from animal food and wine." *

An entry in his Diary of this date tells us somewhat more of his opinions concerning that disease which was the special object of his investigation : —

“It is very probable that the plague flies about from one country to another, as accident or negligence gives it opportunity, so that disease rises spontaneously, that is, without our being able to trace its imported infection, though it must have originally taken its rise in some particular place, as perhaps in Egypt or the coast of Barbary. Important is the inquiry whether it is ever found thus to arise spontaneously. But as to the nature or cause of this malady I do not entertain much hope of seeing that investigated and ascertained with precision, any more than the essence or cause of the small-pox, or measles, &c. I would look to the moral source from whence all evil and suffering have been derived, and would at least endeavour to diminish their bitterness. And oh ! how should I bless God if such a worm is made the instrument of alleviating the miseries of my fellow-creatures, and of connecting more strongly the social bond by mutual exertions for mutual relief ! If one person has received good — spiritual good — by my labours, it is an honour for which I cannot be too thankful. Let us bless the Lord for all things.”

The following interesting note was made of the last communication between these mutually endeared friends : —

“I was deeply impressed,” says Dr. Brown, “by the sense of the danger to which my friend would unavoidably be exposed in this expedition, and the risk which the civilised

* Brown, p. 598.

world would run of losing so valuable a life. I could not, therefore, avoid expressing to Mr. Howard my anxiety on this subject. He replied, with his usual decision, that he was resolved to undertake the journey, and convinced of its probable utility to mankind, and he placed his confidence in that Providence which had hitherto so wonderfully protected him. He added, that if his life was spared he should be enabled to enlarge the sphere of his usefulness; and if he was appointed to terminate, in this journey, his terrestrial career, he rejoiced to reflect that his life had not been wholly passed in vain, and that others might perhaps be prompted by his example to complete what he had left unfinished. When I bade him farewell, taking me by the hand, he said, ‘Well, my dear friend! if we do not meet again in this world, I hope we shall meet in heaven.’ These were the last expressions which I heard from the lips of the incomparable Howard.”*

The Philanthropist entered Germany by way of Osnaburgh, when he was grieved to discover that so far from the torture, to which reference has been made, having been abolished, some refinement of a shocking cruelty had rendered it even more excruciating. Here were many objects of sympathy; the case of two is particularized: —

“In one of the noxious cells below ground was a poor object, ironed hands and feet, and chained to the walls of his dungeon. His wife was in an offensive and dark chamber on the upper floor, weeping and bitterly lamenting her unhappy condition.”

Their forlorn state of course excited Howard’s efforts, and these were to some extent availing. He further represented that the prison was offensive

* Brown, p. 600.

and filthy, and secured an order that on the Saturday of every week the time of the inmates should be devoted to its being cleansed.

From Osnaburgh he proceeded to Hanover, where he records an instance of injustice similar to many in England against which he had protested. He found in a prison seven pale emaciated beings, awaiting their trial, one of whom by strokes of chalk had marked the several weeks of his cruel incarceration, and they amounted to forty-two. Here also the torture was permitted, and the thought of these fearful evils induced the humane visitor to write —

“Have I not reason, with a sigh, to say, ‘I labour in vain, and spend my strength for nought’? But I have resolved, by the help of God, to give myself wholly to this work.”

Having visited the charitable institutions of Hanover, he proceeded to Brunswick. On his arrival, availing himself of the right to inspect the prison, to which all were entitled who contributed a florin towards the relief of its inmates, he found it in a dirty condition; the apparatus for the torture was still retained, although he was glad to learn that it had not been used for eighteen years, and that the room in which it was inflicted had not during that term been opened. By order of one of the authorities it was unbarred for Howard, and he entered into a small, black, dismal cellar, which closely resembled others he has described. The time for “putting

the question " — as the cruel infliction was called — was the midnight hour: the walls were three feet in thickness; four doors closed upon this dreadful dungeon; so that, with its dirt floor and its depth under ground, the most piercing shrieks of pitiable victims were drowned within its narrow space. Some of the horrid instruments were here preserved; others the executioner kept in his own possession. Heart-rending to Howard was the sight of any, yet he would see them all, and hear the worst concerning them, and therefore he went to the house of the executioner. He has himself described the interview: —

“ He seemed with pleasure to show the mode of application on the first, second, and last question, and very readily answered any inquiries, having been several years in that occupation at Hanover; though here (he said) he had only beheaded four or five. On asking if nothing was put into the tortured person’s mouth, as I had in some places seen, he replied, ‘ No; the Osnaburgh executioner thinks they suffer less:’ and on his describing some of the modes of torture (which the art of devils and men had invented), he said, ‘ Sir, the Osnaburgh torture is still ruder.’ ”

The humane traveller now proceeded to Berlin, and forthwith visited the prisons of that city, which he commends as clean and well conducted. He describes a degrading punishment, which was most deserving of censure. Whilst men were here, as elsewhere, exposed to ridicule in the tub-like Spanish vest, women were debased by a like infliction; they

were compelled to wear in public an unsightly machine called the fiddle, which was fastened round the neck and enclosed the arms. The prison at Spandau was next visited, where other objectionable practices prevailed; but the keeper, who was an Englishman, gladly listened to Howard's recommendations. At Königsberg, the prison was in such a filthy condition that he supposed some of its wretched occupants were only "sent there to perish from nastiness and neglect." The sick were without covering and uncared for, and their compassionate visitor begged that the irons might be taken off some who were dying. The magistrates who accompanied him, he tells us, were covered with vermin, and this afforded a favourable opportunity for repeating his advice that every Saturday should be devoted to cleaning the prison. As an apology he wrote as follows:—

"I now take the liberty to mention what in several places seemed to me an obvious remedy to some defect that happened to strike me. I hope it will not be thought by any gentleman, that I do it in the style of a dictator. Yet should it be asked why I did not so generally do it in my first publications, I reply, that my purpose then was to collect what was good, with a view of a reform in my own country; as I did not think any observations of so private an individual would either reach the eye of foreign magistrates, or be attended to by them: but it has pleased God to order it otherwise; it would therefore be, on my part, refusing to do the good offered to my endeavours, were I to abstain from such remarks as may correct abuses and alleviate misery in all the places I visit."

Howard now proceeded — through Memel and

Mittau, at which places he visited the prisons—to the Russian territories, which he entered by way of Riga. The penal and charitable establishments of course attracted immediate attention. There was little remarkable in the former, but in the Military Hospital he found “300 sick, crammed into two dirty and offensive wards,” and the arrangements were in general so faulty that he felt no surprise when told that 500 recruits had lately died there. About ten miles from Riga, Howard visited a prison containing 387 convicts and debtors, all of whom were employed on public works, and a portion of the wages earned by the latter was assigned to their creditors. Here were some who had suffered the punishment of the knout, whose nostrils were slit and their cheeks marked to denote their condemnation for life. Many were murderers, since capital punishment, as before observed, was at that time professedly not inflicted in Russia for any offence. Amongst these criminals was one who had been the head knout-master at St. Petersburg, and had lately murdered his two colleagues. A dispute arose between himself and one of them when drinking, and the ferocious creature struck off the head of his opponent: the other, who was present, showed some resentment, and immediately shared the fate of his companion. For these atrocious acts the perpetrator had been sentenced to 270 strokes of the knout and to slavery for life.

At this time the following entry was made in

that memorandum-book from which several extracts have been inserted :—

“ Riga, Aug. 23rd. — I am firmly persuaded, as to the health of our bodies, herbs and fruits will sustain nature in every respect far beyond the best flesh meat. Is there any comparison to be made between an herb market and a flesh market? The Lord planted a garden for mankind in the beginning, and replenished it with all manner of fruits and herbs, — this was the place ordained for man : if these had still been the food of man, he would not have contracted so many diseases in his body, nor cruel vices in his soul. The taste of most sorts of flesh is disagreeable to those who for any time abstain from it, and none can be competent judges of what I say but those who have made trial of it.

“ I hope I have sources of enjoyment that depend not on the particular spot I inhabit : a rightly cultivated mind, under the power of religion, and the exertion of beneficent dispositions, are a ground of satisfaction little affected by heres and theres.

“ I hope my soul thirsts for the ordinances of God’s House, which I am this day deprived of, but I will make it a day of rest. Through mercy brought here in safety, I have this morning read over some solemn transactions of my soul, many years past, and in the most solemn and devout manner renew those vows which, alas ! have been too often broken, and acknowledge Thee, the Almighty Jehovah, for my Lord and my God. O God ! hear my prayer, and let my cry come before Thee.” *

From Riga, Howard proceeded to St. Petersburg, where the various institutions were revisited, and, according to their condition, his censure or commendation was expressed, each being generally accompanied with some profitable sug-

* Brown, p. 611.

gestion. Here he again conferred with the enlightened and liberal benefactor of his country, General De Betskoi. On the 9th of September he visited the marine hospital at Cronstadt; the dark, offensive, and dirty wards of which, together with the irregularities and improper diet, were such as to call forth the exclamation of compassion — “With what concern must a feeling mind be struck when many objects are looking up for help, and the possibility of a cure is thus cut off!” In a temporary hospital for sick sailors, under the care of an English physician, he was rejoiced to find a pleasing contrast. It had been proposed to erect a new prison here at the time of Howard’s former visit, but the death of Admiral Greig, who chiefly promoted the design, had retarded it. To the praise of that officer his favourite maxim was preserved by our Philanthropist, whose own life was indeed in accordance with its language — “If I cannot do what I would, I *will do what I can.*”

On his journey the wretched prison at Tver was reinspected; and on reaching Moscow, Howard’s attention was immediately directed to similar establishments in that city. A large prison or “ostrog” had been recently built, in which some good regulations prevailed, but the sick were shockingly neglected. The prisoners were still supported by charitable contributions, and were thus supplied with a sufficiency, upon which Howard remarked — “Hence I conclude that the nation is humane; and, in travelling through a great tract of the country,

the peasants appeared to me to be of a kind and hospitable disposition." In another prison he found all promiscuously associated, and its condition was such as to lead him to declare with indignation — "Such a prison is a reproach to any civilised country!" The Grand Duke's Hospital, which, having been burned down, was now rebuilt, was, on the other hand, as deserving his approval; but that for soldiers was very defective.

A letter, probably the last ever written by Howard, was now addressed to his friend Dr. Price: —

"Moscow, Sept 22d, 1789.

"My dear Friend, — Your kind desire to hear from me engages me to write. When I left England, I first stopped at Amsterdam. I proceeded to Osnaburgh, Hanover, Brunswick, and Berlin; then to Königsberg, Riga, and Petersburg, at all which places I visited the prisons and hospitals, which were all flung open to me, and in some the burgomasters accompanied me into the dungeons, as well as into the other rooms of confinement.

"I arrived a few days ago in this city, and have begun my rounds. The hospitals are in a sad state: upwards of seventy thousand sailors and recruits died in them last year. I labour to convey the torch of Philanthropy into these distant regions, as in God's hand no instrument is weak, in whose presence no flesh must glory. I go through Poland into Hungary. I hope to have a few nights of this moon in my journey to Warsaw, which is about a thousand miles. I am pure well — the weather clear — the mornings fresh; thermometer 48°, but have not yet begun fires. I wish for a mild winter, and shall then make some progress in my European expedition.

"My medical acquaintance give me but little hopes of

escaping the plague in Turkey; but my spirits do not at all fail me: and, indeed, I do not look back, but would readily endure any hardships, and encounter any dangers, to be an honour to my Christian profession.

“I long to hear from my friend, yet I know not where he can direct to me, unless at Sir Robert Ainslie’s, Constantinople. I will hope all things.

“I am, my much esteemed friend,

“Most affectionately and sincerely yours,

“JOHN HOWARD.”

CHAPTER XVII.

HOWARD VISITS MILITARY HOSPITALS OF RUSSIA. — PROCEEDS TO CHERSON. — LOSS OF HIS LUGGAGE. — ITS RESTORATION. — SHOCKING TREATMENT OF SICK SOLDIERS. — REFLECTIONS. — FESTIVITIES AT CHERSON. — INTERRUPTED BY FEVER. — OCCASION OF HOWARD'S LAST ILLNESS. — STATE OF HIS MIND. — HIS DEATH. — FUNERAL. — PERSONAL APPEARANCE. — EULOGIUM OF HIS BAILIFF. — THE TABLET AT CARDINGTON. — THE MONUMENT IN ST. PAUL'S.

THROUGHOUT these pages we have observed the constancy with which Howard persevered in the execution of plans upon which he had once determined. Neither difficulties nor dangers could interrupt his steadfast endeavours. As we before remarked, one motive only could divert the humane traveller from his course. Misery in another direction, which might perhaps be mitigated, always possessed an attractive power. Information of such stayed his progress at this time, and induced him to change the route he has just described.

The account he received while at Moscow of the state of the military hospitals, and of the treatment of the Russian soldiers who were sent to them, excited his deep commiseration, and an earnest desire to alleviate their distress. With this object in view a long and dreary journey was undertaken, first to Crementschuok on the banks of the Dnieper, where

four hundred recruits, afflicted with scurvy, were crowded in a small building, and the only food they were allowed was "a sort of water-gruel, sour bread, and still sourer quas:" under this improper treatment half of the patients died; a putrid fever swept them off by scores at a time. Thence he proceeded to Cherson, where he visited a similar institution in a still worse condition, and in which the only attendants upon the sufferers were "men sent from the different regiments, as being useless from stupidity or drunkenness." The following are Howard's remarks:—

"The primary objects in all hospitals seem here neglected, viz. cleanliness, air, diet, separation, and attention. These are such essentials, that humanity and good policy equally demand that no expense should be spared to procure them. Care in this respect, I am persuaded, would save more lives than the parade of medicines in the adjoining apothecary's shop."

A circumstance which might have occasioned serious loss and inconvenience to our benevolent traveller occurred on his way to this town. It is thus narrated in a periodical of that day:—

"In his way to Cherson his baggage was found to be missing from behind the carriage while he and his servant refreshed themselves with a nap. On the discovery of this loss Mr. Howard hastened back to the nearest town or village, where he recollected to have seen a party of Russian recruits, whom he charged with taking his property. While he waited in the carriage till a magistrate could be applied to, his property was brought in; first a hat-box, and next a trunk, which last had been found half buried in the road by the side of fields where some men were

ploughing; one of whom, startled at seeing the nails of the trunk shine just out of the ground, was afraid to touch it without his companion. When it was opened by Mr. H. every article both of linen and money was found in statu quo: but suspicion fell so strong on the recruits at having concealed it till an opportunity offered for them to carry it off and share the spoil, that the magistrate consigned seven of them to Siberia.”*

Here Howard read in the public journals an account of the destruction of the Bastile; an event, we are told, which afforded him peculiar gratification, as he thought his publication descriptive of “its gloomy horrors, its iron cages, and impenetrable dungeons, might have accelerated its demolition. His eye, therefore, sparkled with peculiar delight as he expressed to his servant his intention, should he live to return, of visiting its ruins.”

The following statement concerning the Philanthropist appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1790: —

“Mr. Howard, we are happy to hear from a friend of his who has received a letter from him, was in good health and spirits on the 17th of November, at Cherson, in Little Tartary, to the north of the Black Sea, in his way to Turkey, visiting the army and navy hospitals in that part of the Russian dominions, after having visited those of Riga, Cronstadt, &c., which he found throughout in such sad order as would have given credibility, had it wanted it, to the information he had received from good authority, that no less than the shocking number of seventy thousand recruits, sailors and soldiers, had died in that

* *Gent. Mag.*, March, 1790.

country in the course of the preceding year; owing, undoubtedly, in a great measure, to inattention, ignorance, and inhumanity, whose influence is always checked at least, if it cannot be overcome, by his persevering benevolence, his fortitude, and his skill, wherever human misery attracts this friend to every clime, this patriot of the world: his desire of doing good in a far distant clime may even now be friendly to several of his fellow-creatures (if men may be called so) in this country, when they read the following words of the above-mentioned letter from Cherson: ‘Many are here shivering with the ague (a morass of twenty miles is before my window). I give the ounce of bark, and drachm of snake-root and wormwood, which has not failed me once.’”

Howard made an excursion from Cherson to Witowka, continuing his inspection of these loathsome receptacles, in which the calamities of their inmates were aggravated instead of being relieved, and numbers became victims of impurity and neglect. Grieved at the sight, he here observes —

“When I saw so many brave fellows, who had fought so well for their country before Otschakow, suffered to perish here with filth, neglect, and vermin, how did my heart melt within me!”

The few who survived such cruel negligence, and who when convalescent were discharged from these wretched abodes, were destined to further perils, and exposed to death in a still more frightful form. Howard saw a number of these, just recovering, miserably clad, wet and shivering, under orders to walk several miles to the next town, and felt no surprise when he learned that some were seen lying

dead, by the road-side. Nor could he wonder at the crowded state of the hospitals when he became acquainted with the miserable quarters in which the Russian soldiers passed the winter. Instead of being lodged in barracks, or even encamped, as the troops of other countries, they were encaved, and buried in damp and dismal holes covered with sticks and earth, with only a hole at the top for the supply of air and the escape of smoke.

Howard's attention was next directed to an hospital for recruits and prisoners of war, consisting of four rooms near the new town of St. Nicholas, which was then building. Three hundred poor objects were crammed into these confined apartments: their food was black and heavy, and their quas sour. The inspection was made by appointment, and our humane countryman was accompanied by the Brigadier Falagef, and a physician sent by Prince Potemkin. Preparation was therefore made for the reception of the visitors: a partial cleansing had taken place, new coverlids had been distributed, and the surgeons were in attendance. To the government officials all seemed to be satisfactory. But such an inspection was little in accordance with Howard's practice. Experience had taught him that it was well to make some previous inquiries, and then to pay an unexpected visit. The latter had been prevented in this instance, but the former preliminaries had neither been forgotten nor neglected. He had ascertained that instead of the reported three hundred there were five hundred

patients in this hospital. Suspecting, therefore, that some were concealed when those prepared for inspection had been shown, he requested to see the remainder. Surprised at the demand, but perceiving that their sharp-sighted visitor was not to be deceived, after a time permission was granted, and several officers accompanied him in his further investigation, the result of which is thus described:—

“He found fifty objects of such extreme wretchedness as, in the whole course of his extensive visits to the abodes of misery and vice, he had never before seen together. Most or all of them were recruits, in the prime of life, many of whom were dying upon a bed of hard coarse reeds, without linen or coverlids, with nothing, indeed, but a few remnants of their old clothes to cover them; their persons dirty beyond description, and with their shirts in rags. With every kindlier feeling of his nature shocked beyond description at so barbarous a scene, our intrepid countryman turned to the officers at his side, and, directing their attention to their fellow-creatures who were thus inhumanly treated, told them, in a tone of the bitterest reproof, ‘that in none of the countries he had ever visited had he found so little attention paid to the military as in Russia. He knew, however,’ he added, ‘that what he said would have no other effect on them but to make them despise him, but he should assuredly relate what he had with so much concern and indignation beheld.’ As he had anticipated, his military auditors immediately left him.”*

Seeing many recruits employed in carrying heavy materials, to which their strength was inadequate,

* Brown, p. 621.

he humanely suggested that either wheelbarrows or else some beasts of burthen should be provided; but the barbarities he had witnessed forbade the hope that such advice would be acted upon, although policy not less than compassion might commend it. Apparently spirit-broken at the sight of so much suffering which he had so little power to relieve, he concludes his remarks upon these poor victims of oppression and neglect in the following pathetic strain: —

“Let but a contemplative mind reflect a moment upon the condition of these poor destitute wretches, forced from their homes and all their dearest connections, and compare them with those one has seen, cheerful, clean, and happy at a wedding or village festival; let them be viewed quitting their birth-place, with all their little wardrobe, and their pockets stored with rubles, the gifts of their relations, who never expect to see them more; now joining their corps in a long march of one or two thousand wersts; their money gone to the officer who conducts them and defrauds them of the government allowance; arriving fatigued and half-naked in a distant dreary country, and exposed immediately to military hardships, with harassed bodies and dejected spirits; — and who can wonder that so many droop and die, in a short time, without any apparent illness? The devastations I have seen made by war among so many innocent people, and this in a country where there are such immense tracts of land unoccupied, are shocking to human nature.”

On his return to Cherson he revisited the hospitals, and was glad to find that some better regulations had been adopted, but the diet of the inmates was still insufficient and of an improper descrip-

tion. Drunkenness was also common amongst the attendants; and seeing one of them with a bottle holding two quarts of brandy, the sight occasioned the following remarks:—

“How many patients do I see, with many disorders, which, I am persuaded, proceed from the use of spirituous liquors! What strict care should be taken that the attendants do not bring any to sell in the hospital! Have I not seen unmixed spirits served round to sick and dying patients, by persons intoxicated themselves; when, to my great surprise, I was told, that the physician had ordered it as a treat to the patients! If my visits had any share in promoting this, I fear I killed half a dozen of them; or, at least, put them some days sooner out of their misery!”

The presentiment of his death, which Howard had expressed to so many of his friends before he left England, had not been dispelled by change of scene and active exertion. The mortality he witnessed was perhaps calculated to deepen that impression, and his memoranda prove that it was permanent. Living in habitual preparation, he constantly looked forward with holy complacency to that event. The state of mind in which he contemplated its approach is shown in the following extract:—

“I am a stranger and pilgrim here, but, I trust, through grace, going to a land peopled with my fathers and my kindred, and the friends of my youth. And I trust my spirit will mingle with those pious dead, and be for ever with the Lord.”

Soon, indeed, was the expecting spirit of the Christian Philanthropist to realise that enjoyment

which by faith and hope he could now anticipate. Men acquainted with his venturesome endeavours for the relief of others had long believed that he must one day be the victim of such perilous benevolence. By Divine Providence he had been preserved hitherto to dispense blessings amongst fellow-men. Now, however, the time had arrived when he must receive the recompence of his service, and be blessed himself. But though Howard sacrificed his own life in the attempt to save that of another, and thus far the issue was in accordance with human foresight, yet the occasion of his death was contrary to expectation. His life was not lost, as men anticipated it would be, in the prison, the hospital, or the pest-house, where poverty, privation, and vice engendered diseases the most loathsome, and produced misery in its most malignant form—abodes of wretchedness to which his visits were so frequent, and in which so large a portion of his time was spent. Amidst these yawning sepulchres Howard had lived for years, and was still preserved; but, as if to show distinctly that neither the infectious fever nor yet the contagious pestilence had influence or power under the most threatening circumstances whilst Providence restrained them, yet that no sooner was that protection—in wisdom, and not less in goodness—withdrawn, than, where danger was comparatively unexpected, disease and death prevailed.

Whilst Howard was at Cherson, the fortress of Bender was taken from the Turks; but, as the

winter was far advanced, the Russian commander would not further prosecute the war at that period. Permission was therefore given to the officers to visit Cherson. They came elated with victory, and the citizens shared the joy of their triumph. It was a time of general festivity. Assemblies, balls, and masquerades, in rapid succession, rendered the neighbourhood a scene of gaiety and dissipation. This was soon interrupted. The victors so gladly welcomed had brought with them an enemy far more formidable than those foes which they had vanquished. A fever, similar to that which had raged with so much virulence amongst the troops, showed itself at Cherson, and swept off numbers of its inhabitants. The surrounding families had shared in the mirth and amusements of the crowded city, and they must now participate in its grief and gloom. Amongst those who took part in those diversions was a young lady who resided about sixteen miles distant. She caught the infection, and it assumed a dangerous aspect. Howard's wide-spread reputation as a physician induced her friends earnestly to entreat his attendance and advice. To this he at first objected that he administered only to the poor, and not to those who could afford to pay for proper medical treatment. The symptoms became still more alarming, and the friends more importunate. Howard's reluctance arose from no lack of sympathy, but from an unwillingness to intrude beyond his province; and he was further restrained by a feeling that it would be

unjust to deprive those who practised in an honourable profession of their merited recompence. The present case, however, was one of peculiar distress, and the tender-hearted Philanthropist was prevailed upon to visit the sufferer. He prescribed, and the visit was repeated. He then directed that, if the medicines produced a favourable effect—of which, however, he had little hope,—information should be sent to him at Cherson, and promised that he would see his patient again. The means were in some measure successful, and a letter was accordingly sent, earnestly requesting his immediate attendance. This letter miscarried, and did not reach Howard until eight days after its date. Fearing that fatal consequences might result from the delay, without a moment's hesitation he resolved to go. The weather was most inclement, the cold intense, the rain fell in torrents, and no vehicle could be at once obtained. These obstacles could not restrain the anxious Philanthropist. There was distress,—perhaps aggravated by his apparent indifference; and he might possibly afford relief. No difficulty, fatigue, or danger, under such circumstances, could deter him from making the attempt. Nothing better than an old dray-horse could be found to convey him; and, therefore, mounted upon that, he determined to prosecute the journey. On his arrival he found the poor sufferer in a dying state. Disregarding his own condition, although wet, fatigued, and distressed, he devoted his whole attention to the object of his solicitude. He first

administered a medicine to excite perspiration, and then carefully watched the result. Such was his concern for the patient, that, rather than endanger the desired effect by disturbing her in the least degree, he exposed himself to greater risk of infection. His skill, sedulity, and self-denial were unavailing; and the poor victim of the gay and festive assemblies at Cherson died the next day. Howard felt that he had caught the fever, and mentioned a particular time when, feeling the pulse of his patient, the noxious effluvium sensibly affected him. Dr. Aikin was of opinion that, notwithstanding Howard's impression as to the fever being the cause of his last illness, it was rather the increase of a constitutional disorder; and that "Mr. Howard's name may be added to the numerous list of those whose lives have been sacrificed to the empirical use of a medicine of great activity, and therefore capable of doing much harm as well as good."* He immediately returned to Cherson, and did not leave his lodgings for a day or two after, when, seeming convalescent, he accepted an invitation to dine with Admiral Mordvinof. Of this visit, and subsequent events in his last illness, the following notes were made by his servant, Thomasson:—

"He stayed later than usual at Admiral Mordvinof's, and, when he returned, found himself unwell, and thought he had something of the gout flying about him. He immediately took some sal volatile in a little tea, and thought

* Aikin, p. 198.

himself better till three or four o'clock on Saturday morning, when, feeling not so well, he repeated the *sal volatile*. He got up in the morning and walked out; but, finding himself worse, soon returned and took an emetic. On the following night he had a violent attack of fever, when he had recourse to his favourite remedy, James's powder, which he regularly took every two or four hours till Sunday the 17th; for though Prince Potemkin sent his own physician to him immediately on being acquainted with his illness, yet his own prescriptions were never interfered with during this time. On the 12th he had a kind of fit, in which he suddenly fell down; his face became black, his breathing difficult, and he remained insensible for half an hour. On the 17th he had another similar fit. On the 18th he was seized with hiccuping, which continued on the next day, when he took some musk draughts by the direction of the physician."

Although it is in the life of holy self-denial and constant activity in the service of God, and for the sake of man, that the Christian discerns the power of religious principle, the operation of divine grace, and the proof of an evangelic faith; yet the character appears more attractive, and the example more effectual, if the end of such a course is enlivened by a blessed hope, and if, when the labours have ceased, the language of happy anticipation is heard. Such testimony to the faithfulness of God, and evidence of promises fulfilled, provide a further motive to imitation, and afford encouragement to steadfast perseverance, holy diligence, and patient endurance; in hope that we, following the good examples of those who have died in faith, may with them be partakers of joy and felicity. The last days of Howard

afford this additional value to his most exemplary life; and the few expressions which have been preserved, whilst they convince us that when he rested from his labours he received his reward, seem by this very assurance to gild those deeds with augmented lustre, and to reflect upon them some measure of that glorious recompence which was their sure result.

Three or four days before his death, the following records of his devout gratitude and humble confidence were inserted in his memorandum-book :

“ May I not look on present difficulties, or think of future ones, in this world, as I am but a pilgrim or wayfaring man, that tarries but a night? This is not my home, but may I think what God has done for me, and rely on His power and His grace; for His promise, His mercy, endureth for ever: but I am faint and low, yet I trust pursuing the right way, though too apt to forget my Almighty Friend and my God.

“ O my soul! remember and record how often God has sent an answer of peace, mercies in the most seasonable times, how often better than thy fears, exceeding thy expectations. Oh why should I distrust a good and faithful God? In His word He has said, ‘ In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He will direct thy path.’ Lord! leave me not to my own wisdom, which is folly; nor to my own strength, which is weakness. Help me to glorify Thee on earth, and to finish the work Thou givest me to do, and to Thy name alone be all the praise! ”

The sentences which follow were probably the last which Howard ever wrote. The Christian reader will not deem them less interesting, instructive, and satisfactory because they represent

no rapturous emotion, but rather describe a deep sense of personal unworthiness, accompanied with a simple dependence upon the Redeemer's merits:—

“Oh that the Son of God may not have died for me in vain!” “I think I never look into myself but I find some corruption and sin in my heart: O God! do Thou sanctify me, and cleanse the thoughts of my depraved heart!”

During his stay at Cherson, Howard constantly visited Admiral Priestman, who was also residing there. Some days having passed without having seen his friend, the Admiral called upon him, and found him sitting before a stove in his bed-room, and evidently very ill. An account of the interview has been preserved:—

“On inquiring after his health, he replied that his end was approaching very fast, that he had several things to say to him, and thanked him for having called upon him. The Admiral, concluding from his answers that he was in a melancholy mood, endeavoured to turn the conversation, imagining the whole or the principal part of his disorder might be the mere effect of low spirits. Howard, however, assured him that it was not; and added, in a very impressive yet cheerful manner, ‘Priestman, you style this a dull conversation, and endeavour to divert my mind from dwelling upon death; but I entertain very different sentiments. Death has no terrors for me: it is an event I always look to with cheerfulness, if not with pleasure; and, be assured, the subject is more grateful to me than any other. I am well aware that I have but a short time to live; and my mode of life has rendered it impossible that I should get rid of this fever. If I had lived as you do, eating heartily of animal food, and drinking wine, I

might, perhaps, by altering my diet be able to subdue it. But how can such a man as I am lower his diet who has been accustomed for years to exist upon vegetables and water, a little bread and a little tea? I have no method of lowering my nourishment, — and therefore I must die. It is such jolly fellows as you, Priestman, who get over these fevers.”

This conversation was then followed by some directions respecting his funeral and place of interment.

“‘There is a spot,’ said he, ‘near the village of Dauphigny; * this would suit me nicely: you know it well, for I have often said that I should like to be buried there. And let me beg of you, as you value your old friend, not to suffer any pomp to be used at my funeral; nor any monument nor monumental inscription whatsoever, to mark where I am laid; but lay me quietly in the earth, place a sun-dial over my grave, and let me be forgotten.’”

Feeling that his end was rapidly approaching, Howard expressed a desire that no time might be lost in obtaining the burial-place of which he had spoken; and his friend therefore, with some reluctance, left him for that purpose.

At this time a letter from England was brought to Howard, informing him that the writer had lately seen his son, and expressing a hope that on his return he would find him decidedly better. Cheered in his last hours by this pleasing intelligence, he charged Thomasson, by whom the letter was read to him, that if, by the blessing of God, his son's reason should ever be restored, he would assure him how much and how fervently he had prayed for his happiness. Reverting then to the spot in

which he was anxious to be interred, and which we are told was probably selected "from its being situated in the grounds of a French gentleman who had showed him many acts of kindness during his residence at Cherson," * he remarked that he should be "as near to heaven there as if brought back to England;" and added, that he had long felt no other wish for life than as it afforded him the means of relieving the distresses of his fellow-creatures. As soon as Admiral Priestman had executed his commission he returned to his dying friend, who revived at the assurance that his desires should be fulfilled; and then, referring to the gratifying account just received of his son, he said, "Is not this comfort for a dying father?" † One further request was then made, prompted by his repugnance to the superstitious rites of the Greek Church, and his appreciation of the solemn and very instructive service of the Church of England. He desired his friend to prevent all interference on the part of the Russian priests, and begged that when his body was committed to the tomb he would himself read over it the burial-service of the Church of his own land. After this he was silent, and only nodded assent when it was proposed that a physician should be sent for. This was done, but he did not arrive until just before Howard expired. The event occurred at eight o'clock in the morning of January 20th, 1790.

* Brown, p. 629.

† Appendix.

“ When faith and love, which parted from thee never,
Had ripen’d thy just soul to dwell with God,
Meekly thou didst resign this earthly load
Of death, call’d life,—which us from life doth sever :
Thy works, and alms, and all thy good endeavour,
Staid not behind, nor in the grave were trod,
But, as Faith pointed with her golden rod,
Follow’d thee up to joy and bliss for ever.”

Thus did the spirit of Howard depart to enter into the joy of that Master whose example he had followed, in that he went about doing good. Wafted to Paradise by angels who had watched his course and ministered to his wants, and welcomed by other blessed spirits who had preceded him, and whose benevolence he had long shared, thenceforth to participate their bliss, he now awaits the full fruition of a glorious reward proportioned to his works of faith and labours of love. By the records of his life, “ he being dead yet speaketh ;” and if the reader and the writer listen to such instruction, and learn its profitable lessons so as to imitate the practical piety which adorned his holy profession, then shall the happiness of both be insured, and the Christian philanthropy of Howard—although never limited to the furtherance of temporal welfare—shall be found in its results to have surpassed even his intentions, and, by promoting our own increase of holiness, tend to augment our felicity in heaven.

The death of Howard was, even in Russia, deemed a national calamity ; and, however desirous his friends might have been to comply with his wishes by preventing the parade of a public procession or

display of any kind at his funeral, yet so deeply was the loss deplored, and so anxious were all classes to testify their grief, and many their gratitude, that, on the day appointed for the interment, thousands assembled to escort the body to its grave. A bier, drawn by six horses, was provided, on which the coffin was placed; this was followed by the carriages of the Prince of Moldavia, by those of Admirals Priestman and Mordvinof, of the general and staff-officers of the garrison, and of the magistrates and merchants of Cherson: a large body of cavalry, accompanied by other persons, attended on horseback, and between two and three thousand on foot. This mixed concourse — some attracted by admiration and the desire to do honour to one so worthy, others constrained by a sense of their loss, and lamenting one whom in distress they had learned to love — travelled slowly to the chosen spot, and there deposited that body which, having been so much the instrument of good on earth, we may hereafter distinguish in heaven shining with surpassing glory.

Instead of the sun-dial, a small pyramid was erected over Howard's grave. This was preserved whilst those who had known and revered him survived; but, subsequently, when Dr. Clarke visited the spot, it was in a dilapidated state; and a few years later, when Bishop Heber saw it, this unworthy monument was in a still worse condition.

Of Howard's personal appearance we are not much concerned to inquire. Two casts of his face were taken before his interment, one of which was

brought by his servant to England. He is described to have been of short stature, thin, and of a sallow complexion. His general appearance not prepossessing; but, on more particular observation, his quick, penetrating eye, the benevolence of his frequent smile, and the constant liveliness of his countenance, always produced a most favourable impression. There was an animation in his manner and a quickness in his gait which corresponded with the activity of his mental powers. In his address he was dignified, kind, and condescending; always adapting himself to the persons with whom he conversed: as free from a cringing servility amongst his superiors in station, as he was from arrogancy towards those of lower rank. We need not recapitulate those excellencies of character which have excited our admiration in every chapter of his life;—nor, in our last pages, would we needlessly revert to imperfections: whilst these prove Howard to have been mortal, they proclaim that his virtues are capable of imitation. If, as a father, although most affectionate, he was faulty; whilst we profit by the painful lesson, we are little inclined to pass a censure. If in the regulation of his household an authority somewhat stern was apparent, yet we perceive in the love and reverence of his domestics a sure evidence that harshness and severity were never shown. We have seen that Thomasson, notwithstanding the depravity of his character*,

* This unhappy man, after the death of Howard, was kindly taken into Mr. Whitbread's service, but was guilty of such gross misconduct and base ingratitude, that, although affection and reverence of his

was constrained to bear testimony to "the goodness of his master's heart;" whilst a better servant — the old bailiff — left an assurance of his veneration and devoted attachment, published under the title of "A Father's Legacy to his Children," which, as an encomium on Howard, though in its simplicity it forms a contrast to, is not less valuable than, the fervid eloquence of Burke, or the finished panegyric of Foster. That pious servant, referring to the time in which he occupied a lower station, writes —

"God directed me to that worthy, benevolent, and good man Mr. Howard, with whom I enjoyed all the happiness which a rational mind would wish. . . . I could wish and pray you to make it your study to copy the example of my much esteemed and worthy master, Mr. Howard, especially in his diligence and activity in promoting the honour and glory of God, and the real good of his fellow-creatures. What an example has he left! No time was lost with him, but all improved for the most valuable purposes. No parade of equipage, nor outward appearance; no superfluities, nor indulgence in eating and drinking, but the strictest abstinence from everything that could be in the least a let or hindrance to him in performing what he well knew was his incumbent duty as a rational and immortal being, who would be called to a strict and impartial account of the talents with which a good and gracious Creator had endowed him. And I can assure you, that nothing was lost or unimproved by him, but all was faithfully improved to some valuable end or purpose."

kind patron towards his former master saved him from a prosecution, he was compelled to leave the neighbourhood, and ultimately died a pauper (it is hoped a penitent) in the Liverpool Infirmary.

When the intelligence of Howard's death was received in England, and announced in the *Gazette* of March 23d, 1790,—a distinction which had never before been conferred upon any private person,—all felt that they had lost a friend, and under a sense of that loss there was very general lamentation. Innumerable were the tributes to his memory for which a space was sought in the leading periodicals of the day. Many were published, but only a small proportion of the whole; whilst from the pulpit, the platform, and even the theatre, the piety, philanthropy, and exemplary virtue of Howard were proclaimed and applauded.

Amongst the numerous poetic compositions which were written on this occasion, that of Dr. Aikin, in addition to its intrinsic merits, is interesting on account of his personal friendship with the subject of his praise:—

“ Howard, thy task is done ! thy Master calls,
 And summons thee from Cherson's distant walls :
 Come, well-approv'd ! my faithful servant ! come ;
 No more a wand'rer, seek thy destin'd home.
 Long have I mark'd thee with o'er-ruling eye,
 And sent admiring angels from on high,
 To walk the paths of danger by thy side,
 From death to shield thee, and thro' snares to guide.
 My *minister of good*, I've sped thy way,
 And shot thro' dungeon-glooms a leading ray,
 To cheer, by thee, with kind unhoped relief,
 My creatures lost and whelm'd in guilt and grief.
 I've led thee, ardent, on thro' wond'ring climes,
 To combat human woes and human crimes.
 But 'tis enough !— *thy great commission's* o'er ;
 I prove thy faith, thy love, thy zeal, no more.

Nor droop, that, far from country, kindred, friends,
Thy life, to duty long devoted, ends :
What boots it *where* the high reward is giv'n,
Or *whence* the soul triumphant springs to heav'n ? ”

Howard's request as to the memorial-tablet, the inscription of which he had dictated, and which he desired should be placed under that of his beloved wife in Cardington church, was now complied with. It tells that —

JOHN HOWARD

DIED AT CHERSON, IN RUSSIAN TARTARY,
JANUARY 21ST, 1790, AGED 64.

CHRIST IS MY HOPE.

In that simple tablet the Christian reader cannot fail to discern an evidence of humility, firm reliance on a Saviour's merits, and faith in Him ; and, as an indication of those graces, that plain marble slab is more expressive of Howard's praise, and more honourable to his memory, than would be the finest monument carved by the most distinguished sculptor, or the most laudatory epitaph ever written. But whilst we point to the sequestered church at Cardington for this interesting memorial of his personal and private excellence, it is also our pleasing task to direct the reader to the most conspicuous cathedral of our country, that he may there learn the estimate of his public character and philanthropic service formed by a grateful nation. Large additions were made to the fund collected during the lifetime of Howard, and a magnificent statue by Bacon was erected in St. Paul's. It was the first national tribute to departed worth ever placed within that sacred edifice.

The inscription sets forth Howard's claim to such pre-eminence : —

THIS EXTRAORDINARY MAN HAD THE FORTUNE TO BE HONORED
WHILST LIVING,

IN THE MANNER WHICH HIS VIRTUES DESERVED :

HE RECEIVED THE THANKS

OF BOTH HOUSES OF THE BRITISH AND IRISH PARLIAMENTS,
FOR HIS EMINENT SERVICES RENDERED TO HIS COUNTRY
AND TO MANKIND.

OUR NATIONAL PRISONS AND HOSPITALS,
IMPROVED UPON THE SUGGESTIONS OF HIS WISDOM,
BEAR TESTIMONY TO THE SOLIDITY OF HIS JUDGMENT,
AND TO THE ESTIMATION IN WHICH HE WAS HELD

IN EVERY PART OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD ;
WHICH HE TRAVERSED TO REDUCE THE SUM OF
HUMAN MISERY.

FROM THE THRONE TO THE DUNGEON HIS NAME WAS MENTIONED
WITH RESPECT, GRATITUDE, AND ADMIRATION.

HIS MODESTY ALONE

DEFEATED VARIOUS EFFORTS THAT WERE MADE DURING HIS LIFE
TO ERECT THIS STATUE,

WHICH THE PUBLIC HAS NOW CONSECRATED TO HIS MEMORY.

HE WAS BORN AT HACKNEY, IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX,
SEPT. 11th, MDCCXXVI.

THE EARLY PART OF HIS LIFE HE SPENT IN RETIREMENT,
RESIDING PRINCIPALLY UPON HIS PATERNAL ESTATE,

AT CARDINGTON, IN BEDFORDSHIRE :

FOR WHICH COUNTY HE SERVED THE OFFICE OF SHERIFF
IN THE YEAR MDCCCLXXIII.

HE EXPIRED AT CHERSON, IN RUSSIAN TARTARY, ON THE
XXth OF JAN. MDCCXC.

A VICTIM TO THE PERILOUS AND BENEVOLENT ATTEMPT
TO ASCERTAIN THE CAUSE OF, AND FIND AN EFFICACIOUS
REMEDY FOR THE PLAGUE.

HE TROD AN OPEN BUT UNFREQUENTED PATH TO IMMORTALITY
IN THE ARDENT AND UNINTERMITTED EXERCISE OF
CHRISTIAN CHARITY.

MAY THIS TRIBUTE TO HIS FAME

EXCITE AN EMULATION OF HIS TRULY GLORIOUS ACHIEVEMENTS.

A P P E N D I X.

A. Page 7.

OF this Mr. Eames a biography is given in the Monthly Magazine, vol. 16., in which it is said that he was one of the best scholars of his time. He was educated at Merchant Tailors' school, and afterwards pursued a course of academical studies with a view to the Christian ministry; yet he never preached but one sermon, when he was so exceedingly agitated and confused that he was scarcely able to proceed, and never renewed the attempt. . . . Dr. Watts once said to one of his pupils, "Your tutor is the most learned man I ever knew." His learning procured him the acquaintance and friendship of Sir Isaac Newton. Amongst some other distinguished pupils, Archbishop Secker received part of his academical education under him, and advice somewhat remarkable, as from a dissenter, is said to have been given by him—"discovering a disposition for a freedom of thinking which would have had an unfavourable aspect on his acceptableness as a minister among the Dissenters of that day, Mr. Eames advised him to lay aside his design of appearing in that character, and to direct his attention to the study of physic." Brown, in his appendix to Howard's Life, has mentioned this fact, p. 667. Mr. Eames died suddenly, June 29th 1744. "What a change," says Dr. Watts, who dedicated to him his treatise on Geography and Astronomy, "did Mr. Eames experience! but a few hours between his lecturing to his pupils, and his hearing the lectures of angels!"

B. Page 91.

FOR the notice of these documents I was indebted to the careful observation of the Rev. T. B. Murray, the excellent

secretary of the society, who discovered them whilst the second edition of my work on Prison Discipline was in the press, and being aware of that circumstance, most kindly gave me immediate information. I feel called upon to repeat this fact, to prevent any charge of plagiarism, since the author of a *Life of Howard*, to which reference has been made, when describing his preparation for his work, has affirmed, — “the result of *this labour* is, that some new matter of curious interest has turned up — amongst other things a manuscript, throwing light on the early history of prison reforms in this country, found in the archives of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.” And again referring to the labours of this society therein described, and to those of the Parliamentary Committee in 1729, he adds, “*hitherto* the second of these attempts has *alone* been known to the public.” I must add that the writer of the above sentences, *having read the extracts from the said manuscript in the first volume of my work*, requested me, as a member of the Christian Knowledge Society, to introduce him to the Rev. Secretary, that he might be gratified with a sight of the original document. With which request I cheerfully complied.

D. Page 108.

A work full of powerful arguments and interesting facts. It is now very scarce, and its republication is much to be desired. Should any reader of these pages be willing to undertake the task, I shall be happy to lend the copy in my possession, which formed part of the library of the late W. Crawford, Esq., the mention of whose name compels me to pay an humble tribute to his memory: no man, since the days of Howard, has done more for the improvement of prison discipline. It was my privilege occasionally to converse with him on this question, and not only to admire his talents, but, I hope, to profit by his perfect acquaintance with the subject to which they were chiefly directed; and not less by the Christian feeling with which that knowledge was communicated. I am indebted for this and several other works on Prison Discipline to the kindness of Mr. Crawford's relation, to whom he bequeathed his library.

Page 113.

It appears that this gaol was the property of the bishop. It is to be regretted that some of Howard's biographers should have indulged in unwarranted censures upon the prelate for permitting such cruelty. There is not a word in Howard's statements which can lead to the supposition of the bishop's knowledge of the circumstance *previously* to the information referred to; nor have we a right to suppose that he was less anxious than the sovereign, to prevent the recurrence of any such like cruelties. That the bishop was bound to repair the edifice, does by no means prove that he had the superintendence and controul of the prison.

E. Page 154.

“LES géoliers conduiront les personnes qui viendront faire des charités dans les lieux de la prison où elles désireront les distribuer, ce qu'elles pourront faire elles-mêmes sur le préau ou dans le cour; mais les aumônes ne pourront être distribuées dans les cachots noirs que par les mains du géolier, en présence des personnes qui les porteront.”

F. Page 162.

THERE is at this time, in the gaol at Reading, associated with men of the very lowest grade—some of whom have been repeatedly in prison—a lad only eighteen years of age, the son of very respectable parents, but who, having a large family, have been unable to discharge his extravagant debts. This youth is shocked and disgusted at the low, vicious language he is compelled to hear; would be most thankful, he told me, to be alone like the criminals in the prison, and has begged that he may have a table in his night-cell, comfortless as that is, in preference to being in company with other occupants of the wards.

Page 198.

THE writer of Howard's Life, to which I have before referred,—a strenuous advocate for compulsory labour in the punishment of criminals—has thought proper to substitute the word “*industrial*,” where the term “*religious*” education is used by Howard.

Page 229.

I DO not wonder that the author referred to in the last note, should, with a flippancy as profane as the imputation is false, speak of what he is pleased to call "the no work much gospel system," pursued at Reading in terms of strong reprobation. Nor will I enter into controversy with a person who says "the authorities of Berkshire would owe his (i.e. the criminal's) good conduct to the grace of Heaven, and to that alone," and who denounces this as "a mere dogma, and a dogma open to much question." And then in a strain that betrays its spirit, affirms, "a man who robs a butcher's shop of a leg of mutton, gets—say six months and the four Evangelists;" and again, "the transport who has to pass his term of eighteen months, will have to fasten in his memory from St. Matthew to Revelation." But that any man of piety and superior intelligence should suppose that there could be any semblance of truth in such statements, and should have unconsciously misrepresented—as the excellent chaplain of Pentonville, I regret to say, has done—the system of Reading gaol, by saying that "education is a part of the *penal* discipline," is somewhat remarkable, and either proves my Rev. Brother to be too credulous, or that we have too little discernment. Referring to this subject, in a recent publication which I dedicated to the Magistrates of Berkshire, I wrote: "Your wise regulations sanction my saying, God forbid that we should ever be justly chargeable with such guilt and folly! I need scarcely assure you, that whilst I have the honour to be your chaplain, and to superintend the educational treatment of your criminals, never shall a task of Holy Scripture, or the teaching of a schoolmaster, constitute any part of a prisoner's punishment." Having thus vindicated myself, I strongly recommend to the perusal of my reader the small volume "*Prisons and Prisoners*," recently published by Mr. Kingsmill, as containing a most interesting account of the past and present system of transportation.

Page 231.

I MUST again contradict the author, whose want of veracity has been shown in former notes, and who, with a further violation of truth, has written: "The convicts sent down to Portland were from Wakefield, from Reading, and from Pentonville. Their

conduct has been almost uniformly bad ; marked by a disobedient, idle, mutinous spirit." To this statement I oppose the last paragraph of an official letter from Lt. Col. Jebb, the zealous superintendent of convicts. He says, "I cannot conclude without informing you of the very satisfactory conduct of the men, sent from Reading to Portland generally, and that they afford evidence of the care and attention that has been bestowed upon their moral improvement." My own observation confirmed the statement. At the very time the misrepresentation I have quoted was preparing for the press, I visited Portland, and though I could not have anticipated the publication of such a slander, yet, about a week before its appearance, I had published the following account of what I had seen :—"Personal observation and converse with the justly esteemed officers of Portland prison, have confirmed the testimony adduced. The convicts are classed in a judicious manner, and, after three month's probation, each man wears a mark on the arm of his coat, as indicative of his character. All the men who had been sent from Reading, with only two exceptions, were distinguished by the badge worn by prisoners who are best behaved, and by the letters V.G., denoting that their conduct had been *Very Good*." But the author above cited further says, "The last batch of forty sent from Pentonville, mutinied the very next day after their arrival in the island ; as soon, in fact, as they found that they would have to work hard in their new quarters. . . . They were then brought back to their cells in Pentonville." Now it is remarkable, that whilst this worthy opponent of separate imprisonment, alleges this fact against it, the excellent Governor of Portland Prison mentioned it as an illustration of the necessity for such corrective discipline before sending convicts to his establishment. "These men," said Captain Whitty, "had been desperate characters" (I believe sometime on board the hulks, and unmanageable); they were sent to Pentonville prison ; but after confinement of *only four months*—a fourth part of the time commonly assigned for reformatory treatment—they were transferred to Portland. "The time," said that intelligent officer, "was too short for correction." This is the only case of insubordination that has occurred, and the conduct of these forty men formed a contrast to that of all the others. Not one of the other convicts would join them in their mutinous behaviour.

Page 296.

I CANNOT refrain from mentioning one or two painful cases of children now in gaol at Reading. One only nine years of age was committed with his father. On inquiry, I found that both the father and mother had been convicted. On the occasion of this committal, the child had not been allowed to have any breakfast; but the unnatural parent had showed him some cakes in a baker's shop, and promised to purchase one for him if he went first and committed a felony. The little fellow was convicted under the Act for the summary punishment of juvenile offenders, and suffered imprisonment and a flogging.

Another boy fifteen years of age, under sentence for felony, whose father has been transported, and often in prison, gave me the following statement, which I have found true upon inquiry:—"When I was eleven years old, my father wanted me to steal some hay which was lying by the road, and I would not, because I was told that it was laid there as a trap. He beat me so as to cut a piece of flesh out of my thigh, and I was lame afterwards for some time. I always had sores about me when he was not in prison, because my mother used to stop our stealing when he told us to—I mean my little brother and myself." The boy showed me a frightful scar on his thigh, and others upon various parts of his body.

Page 401.

THE following remarks are extracted from the "substance of a speech" in which the writer was called upon to "reply to the objections against separate confinement, contained in Lectures upon Prison Discipline, delivered by Charles Pearson, Esq., M.P."

"I must think it somewhat presumptuous that the Hon. Gentleman has appealed to the laws of God in support of his proposition. He was formidable, whilst contending with the weapons of worldly policy, and not venturing upon Christian ground. But here he must forgive my saying that he is approaching the strongholds of his opponents, and that the attempt to handle their weapons only insures wounds to himself.

"I believe it is a sad mistake to *enforce* labour by any means in penal discipline. I feel sure it is opposed to the mind, and

to the dispensations of the Almighty. I believe that employment is essential to the happiness of intelligent beings. Angels are occupied. Man was made to till the ground, and placed in Paradise to dress and keep it. Whilst Adam retained his uprightness duty was a delight, and labour was a privilege. Milton well describes it as dignifying the nature of man.

‘God hath set

Labour and rest, as day and night to man
Successive. Other creatures all day long
Rove idle unemployed, and less need rest ;
Man hath his daily work of body or of mind
Appointed ; which declares his dignity.’

“Now believing these sentiments I sincerely deprecate the practice of confounding a thing virtuous and good with those vicious and disgraceful, which is certainly done when labour is on any account enforced as a punishment. But the question immediately before us is this,—are we acting contrary to the laws of the Almighty and to the dispensations of His wisdom and justice, in not exacting labour from criminals? This brings us to consider the sentence pronounced when man had sinned—‘In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.’ Now if industry was virtuous whilst man was innocent, I cannot think that his loss of innocence changed the nature of virtue ; and if not, then I have yet to learn that God ever *imposed as a penalty* that which was in itself good. Many evil passions are in themselves painful and punitive, but virtuous feelings and actions can only be made painful by circumstances, and though God may permit those circumstances yet he does not cause them. I infer then, that as judgment and mercy are ever mingled in God’s dealings with man during his time of trial : so this sentence, ‘In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,’ was really a mitigation of the terrible curse which sin entailed. It was an enactment rendered necessary to the future *welfare* of man by the change which sin had produced in his mental constitution and physical condition. He was not, when thus fallen, to brood in constant sorrow upon his lost estate, nor to pass the life of probation, then assigned him, in mere expectation and hope. Mind and body were both formed for exercise, and in their activity to find enjoyment. And in this respect the purpose of the Creator was not thwarted by the transgression

of the creature. Man's capacity for enjoyment by the same means remained the same. But the motive to exertion, — that simple knowledge of God's will, which was enough to insure compliance, and the consequent advantage, whilst man was upright, was now gone, and another stimulus was needful. The mind averse from God, and the body corrupted by vice, might both become slothful, and therefore suffer, unless some further obligation were imposed; hence the Almighty, in *compassion*, and to prevent the increase of misery which idleness would occasion, decreed, *as a general rule*, that except a man work neither shall he eat.

“I would further contend that it is *healthful*, not *hard*, labour which is imposed. The passage implies this—the forehead is the first part of the body to ‘sweat,’ and physicians teach us that in general to preserve perfect health it must sweat once in twenty-four hours.

“But whilst I conceive this decree to be a blessing as respects the effect upon the body, and that labour when voluntarily and rightly directed is virtuous and conducive to man's welfare, I confine the remark to *man in his ordinary condition, and not as an offender under penal and corrective treatment*. And had this distinction been observed, I think such erroneous inferences would not have been drawn from Holy Scripture and the supposed moral government of God. You, Sir *, as I have seen with pleasure, have often spoken of Prisons as Hospitals for the cure of moral sickness, and of Prisoners as Patients. I thankfully take advantage of the just comparison. Labour tends to invigorate and to preserve the moral health of the honest man; the dishonest—the diseased, need correction and a remedy. But must the medicine for the sick be one and the same as the food for the sound? Certainly not. Then substitute mental instruction for manual employment, and give time for reflection instead of toilsome labour. As the sick man becomes convalescent less medicine is required, and more nutriment may be administered; then gradually give him the occupation he will desire, and the habit of industry, with other virtues, will be formed as the moral health shall be restored. And if I have read my Bible correctly, the commands and dispensations of God accord with such plans. Why, let me ask, was the Sabbath instituted first in Paradise, and then continued after the trans-

* M. Davenport Hill, Esq. Q.C., Chairman.

gression? We have seen that in Eden Adam was employed during six days, but his state whilst there was rather one of probation than of absolute perfection; he might have attained to a higher condition, and the Sabbath especially afforded the time uninterrupted, and the means of preparation for it. But to man, when fallen, the cessation from labour on the Sabbath became a means of correction and restoration. Should any assert that it was merely continued for the sake of rest and advantages to the body — what we have said concerning its observance in Paradise, when toil and sickness were unknown, would refute any such opinion. No: man was to cease from labour that he might have a season for *correction* and *improvement* as well as for bodily recreation. Here then we have a rule of the divine governance, universally applied, in our favour.

“Now let us consider some of the more particular dispensations of God, and the sanction to our plans will be still more apparent. I refer then to the history of God’s chosen people. I see then that people, from whose condition we are to take warning, and to learn wisdom, whilst in Egypt oppressed by Pharaoh—who in his government is an admitted type of Satan—groaning under taskmasters and compulsory labour. Was this, I ask, corrective? Let their murmurs, their ingratitude, and oft-repeated disobedience testify. And I rejoice in the opportunity of an appeal to those sacred records which are alone infallible in their teaching, and which are intended to instruct on this, as on every other question of moral discipline. I dare not think that distance of time, change in circumstances, or diversity of nations, render nugatory the lessons of divine revelation, or nullify the language of Him with whom is no variableness, and who has told us concerning Israel, that ‘things happened unto them for *Ensamples*: and they are written for *our admonition* upon whom the ends of the world are come.’* ”

“And how truly did their tyrant still further deprave them, when with policy suited to his crafty and cruel purpose he enjoined, ‘Let there *more work* be laid upon the men that they may labour therein.’ And mark the motive for this command, ‘Let them not regard *vain words*.’ I will not myself draw a parallel between Pharaoh and our opponents; but their mistakes entitle me to request they will themselves trace a comparison, if they are yet disposed to advocate penal labour,

* 1 Cor. x. 11.

and to depreciate religious instruction, the efficacy of which is thereby prevented. But what plan did their merciful Deliverer pursue to reclaim that stiff-necked, hard-hearted, rebellious company? Did he subdue and chasten them by subjecting them again to compulsory labour? Was not His plan the most opposite that could be devised? Did He not oblige them to rest, and supply them with daily bread, without appointing any exertion as a condition? And on what account? Certainly not to encourage idleness, or to sanction any vicious indulgence or desire; but we are assured that it was to correct, to instruct, and so to prepare for that life of holiness and of industry, accompanied by dependence on God's power and providence, which was afterwards to distinguish that favoured nation. It was 'to humble them and to prove them, that they might learn that man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live;' and 'that He might do them good at their latter end.' (Deut. viii. 3, 16.) Their leisure afforded time for reflection: their Law-giver taught them their duty, and their moral discipline prepared them to perform it. Sir, if this is not more than a warrant: if it does not plainly teach us, in our attempts to correct criminals, to substitute for a time scriptural instruction for either compulsory labour, or a certain task as a condition of sustenance, then I confess I have read the Scriptures to little purpose.

"It would be trifling to object that the Jews were in special circumstances which prevented labour for daily food. God could as easily by a miracle have made the sterile wilderness fruitful, and have commanded it should be cultivated, as by a succession of miracles, shower down the manna upon it for their unearned support. If it be said the Israelites were then exceptions to the rule of Divine governance, this is the very concession I seek for. Prisoners are also exceptions. Crime is an interruption to God's rule: it is not according to His appointed order of things, and the criminal under punishment is not in the *ordinary* state of probation.

"And is not God's plan in *correcting individuals* in accordance with the means we commend, instead of contrary to them? Does he not lay aside the sinner from the world, and take away the very powers and capacity for bodily exertion, that there

may be improvement in the heart and mind? I do not think it well to detain you by pursuing this question; sufficient has been said to overthrow the assertion which I have felt bound to oppose. That the Almighty would have men in *general* to 'labour and work with their hands' is undoubted, but the precept is to men in their *ordinary condition, and not to men under corrective discipline*. 'Let him that stole' learn to 'steal no more,' then 'let him labour.' There will be no advantage to himself or others in his industry, unless he has learned honesty.

"The learned lecturer I was glad to find so decidedly averse to imposing labour as a mere *punishment*. I am equally opposed to its being *compulsory in any respect*. What a man knows he must do, will probably be done at the time; but there will be no disposition to resume the duty when the constraint is gone. Much is said about the force of habit, but habits are only formed by a succession of *voluntary* acts. The moment you resort to compulsion, the mind revolts, and then you may force submission, but you cannot form the habit. Repugnance will be the only effect produced.

"I contend, that the scheme of Mr. Pearson is unscriptural, it is unphilosophical; it is not, as he says, according to 'common sense,' because our own feelings and experience oppose it. It is dealing with men as with machines; or, at the best, as brutes. Exacting a task as the condition of sustenance, is nothing better than compulsion in its most objectionable, because its most powerful degree. It is an appeal to a mere sensation; an abandonment of manhood, as possessed of mind and motive, and the Being so debased, is in danger of sinking to the low estimate which his treatment indicates. He will become what Milton well describes those —

'Whose thoughts are low,
To *vice industrious*; but to better deeds—
Timorous and slothful.'

"Surely, Sir, facts confirm the statement of the Poet. I had the pleasure of accompanying Mr. Pearson some time since to the prison at Vilvorde, and subsequently having obtained an order of admission from the Inspector of the Belgian Prisons, I invited the Hon Gentleman to accompany me to that interesting building the Maison de Force at Ghent. I hoped that

the painful lesson he there received, as to the probability judging from the past, that nearly all those poor hard working prisoners would return to crime, and continue to suffer, might induce him to advocate the system which corrects, and which, I still hope, he will some day promote. He must not, however, corrupt that system by compulsory labour, or the gain of a convert would be destructive to success. Surely the system pursued at Perth, and other places, sadly confirms the truth of this opinion.

“My present duty is rather to defend our own system, than to raise objections against another; yet I must observe, in passing, that the scheme of Mr. Pearson presents this obstacle to improvement—this tendency, I may say, to perpetuate crime;—it continually appeals to selfishness, that same vicious principle, which was probably the very cause of the offence for which the punishment is inflicted, is thus to be strengthened by the constant exercise.

“Again, I must insist upon the fact, that imprisonment and restraint is not to be the lasting condition of the man. Supposing a habit could be formed by some particular means, the continued operation of which, was uncertain and dependent upon circumstances, would the effect remain upon a voluntary Agent when the cause was removed? It may be easy to force a man rather to labour than to starve, and if the future condition of the Criminal presented no other alternative, the mere bodily and habitual training might be serviceable to himself and to society. But it is far otherwise if, as is commonly the case, idleness is preferred to industry, if it be likely that employment become scarce, and temptation strong. In such cases, some inward principle is required, some constraining motive to patient endurance is wanted; and if this has not been implanted, violence and dishonesty will be preferred to want and distress. Instinct may teach animals and men to work rather than to starve; but instruction, both of a better kind, and to a greater extent than has been proposed, is needful to teach men to starve rather than to steal.

“But, Sir, let it not be supposed that I desire the prisoner’s time should be unoccupied or idleness encouraged. I have observed that it is well for a short time after the committal of a prisoner to withhold manual occupation, and so to give time

for reflection and to excite a desire for employment. But when by suitable means the misconduct has been shewn, instruction is sought, and *work is wished for*, then let the latter be supplied in due proportion. I have elsewhere spoken on this subject, and only mention it now to repel the assertion that idleness is induced or encouraged by the Berkshire System.* On the contrary, means best adapted are made use of to call forth a spirit of industry by motives of *honesty*, which shall be more lasting than the transitory impulse of immediate want."†

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OFTEN has the writer had cause to regret the interruption to separate confinement in Gloucester Gaol. The following statement may prove this in some measure:—There are now in Reading Gaol twelve convicts from Gloucester under sentence of transportation, two of whom were, about three years since, confined in the Penitentiary built under the auspices of Sir G. O. Paul, but in which the discipline had so deteriorated. The account given by one, and confirmed by the other, of the effect of their imprisonment, is—"I got acquainted with——in the prison, and we agreed to go together when set free; so he came to me when we were discharged. I had four shillings, and when we had spent that, we went and broke into the house. There were two younger lads, one fifteen, the other sixteen years old, who were with me in the Penitentiary, and we all went together with——. They are now in prison, one for twelve, the other for fifteen months."

* Pris. Discip. i. 185. ii. 88.

† As the chief argument which Mr. Pearson urged in favour of compulsory labour in prisons was the lessening of the expense of imprisonment, I gladly insert a table shewing the diminution of crime and consequently of punishment in Berkshire. For these valuable statistics I am indebted to an excellent magistrate, whose constant attention to the working of the system pursued in Reading gaol, has induced him to become the most strenuous advocate for the extension of that reformatory discipline.

THE END.

LONDON :
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,
New-strect-Square.

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE STATE OF CRIME IN BERKS.

SHOWING

1.—A reduction in the number and cost of County Prosecutions at Assizes and Sessions.

2.—A diminution of the more serious offences.

3.—The net charge for Reading and Abingdon Prisons for the last 10 years.

4.—The state of Criminal Jurisdiction, charge thereon, and Commitments; tending to prove that the entire separation of Prisoners, with the adoption of Christian instruction, as the first principle of corrective discipline, has been of public advantage, morally and financially, as compared with the Treadmill or "Hard Labour" system. Variations in government allowances are kept in view throughout, so as to make the comparison between the former and present system strictly just.

5.—The amount of County and Gaol Rate, and allowances in aid of Rates.

I.

REDUCTION IN NUMBER AND COST OF PROSECUTIONS.

		Number.	Cost.
Period of Hard Labour... ..	1841 to 1844.	736	£9,627
Ditto of Christian Instruction	1845 to 1848.	655	8,257
"Reduction in Number"		81	
"Reduction in Cost"			£1,270
Further saving in cost of Prison Maintenance for "81" more Offenders, if crime had not been reduced to this clear extent			931
Further saving in conveyance of Prisoners			102
Reduction in Cost under this head during the last Four Years ...			£2,303

II.

DIMINUTION IN THE MORE SERIOUS OFFENCES.

		Number.
Average Annual Prosecutions at Assizes	1841 to 1844	66
Ditto during period of Christian Instruction... ..	1845 to 1848	41
Average Annual Diminution		25

N.B.—This reduction has been maintained. In 1849 the Assize Prosecutions were 41. An average of the above eight consecutive years shows the cost of Assize Prosecutions to be £17 16s. 7d. each. At Sessions, £10 10s. 1d. each.

III.

NET CHARGE FOR READING AND ABINGDON PRISONS FOR THE LAST TEN YEARS.

	1840	1841	1842*	1843*	1844*	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Reading	1993	2066	1780	1825	2300	3221	3160	3651	2175	2240
Abingdon	1832	1426	1636	2484	2005	937	549	520	781	861
Total	3825	3492	3416	3769	4305	4158	3709	4171	2956	3101
Add, FOR COMPARISON, the new allowances in aid ... £										640 635
Total £										3596 3736

* * * In these years Reading Gaol was pulled down and rebuilt, and the prisoners were gradually transferred to Abingdon. At Midsummer 1844 Reading became again the principal County Gaol. Comparing the first two years of this decennial period, 1840 and 1841, before the alteration commenced, with the last two years, 1848 and 1849, it will be seen that the average of the latter period shows a variation of only £15, which in fact proves a decrease of ordinary expenditure, because an entirely new charge was thrown upon the County, for the maintenance of 14 convicts in 1848, and 18 in 1849, who were left at Reading on an average of 6 months each, instead of being removed immediately after sentence of transportation, as had been customary. The Treasury allowance in aid, which was not an equivalent as in the case of other Townships, is noted above. But for this circumstance a clear reduction would have been shown under the head of Prison expenditure of £101.

IV.

CRIMINAL JURISDICTION, CHARGE THEREUPON, AND COMMITMENTS.

	Number.
General Commitments for 8 years, 1841 to 1848 inclusive £	7219
Of these, there were Tried at Assizes 430	Charge ... 7667
" " at Quarter Sessions 961	Ditto 10,095
" " Total number by Jury 1391	Ditto ... £17,762
The remainder by Magistrates on summary convictions 5828	NONE.

Note.—Comparing the last 5 years of the Hard Labour system, 1840 to 1844 inclusive, with the first 5 years, 1845 to 1849, of Moral Discipline, a reduction appears, during the latter period, both of commitments and re-commitments, proving that the previous progress of crime has been arrested, notwithstanding the increase of population during these years, and the pressure of Irish pauperism, which filled gaols in proportion as casual relief was refused in or out of Workhouses, under the Poor Law minute, founded on "the rapid increase of Vagrancy." For example, in 1847, 2000 more applications were made to Reading Workhouse than had ever before been known, and 254 strangers to the county were committed to Reading for petty offences. In 1848 the applications to the Reading Police Station amounted to 4586, and commitments of strangers were 289. In 1849, applications to the Police Station reached the number of 5490, and the commitments of strangers were 201.

V.

AMOUNT OF COUNTY RATE, GOVERNMENT ALLOWANCES IN AID OF RATE, AND GAOL BUILDING RATE, DURING THE LAST TEN YEARS.

	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	Paid by Ratepayer
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
County Rate	£866	9578	8610	7948	8610	8637	7984	7509	*7736	*7033	7033
Government Allowances } for Prosecutions } Ditto for Maintenance of } Prisoners	No Return	1093	1053	1164	1121	850	788	1300	2076	1263	635
Ordinary Expenditure		10671	9663	9112	9731	9487	8772	8818	10452	8931	
Gaol Building Rate .....	...	...	...	1324	5208	3986	2661	2737	3516	3516	3516
Total											£ 10549

* * * These sums include £840 12s. in 1848, and £1218* in 1849, for the new Lunatic Asylum.

N.B.—The present assessable property of the County is £576,216.

WM. MERRY,

Highlands, near Reading.

VISITING JUSTICE OF READING GAOL.

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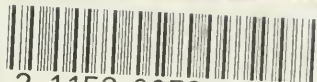
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